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Mahavira Era

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The Mahāvīra Era

Pūrvvā from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā
Dated (Saṁ XV gṛi III di 1)

4871

Dr. PARMESHWAR SOLANKI
Jain Vishva-Bharati, Ladnun-341306 (India)
1993 AD

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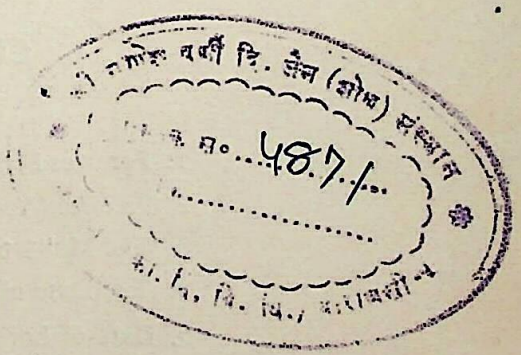
The Mahāvīra Era

Dr. PARMESHWAR SOLANKI
M.A., N.D., Sahitya-Siddhant Shastri,
Acharya, Sahitya Ratna, Trained Museologist
(M.S. University of Baroda)



JAIN VISHVA-BHARATI, LADNUN
1993, AD

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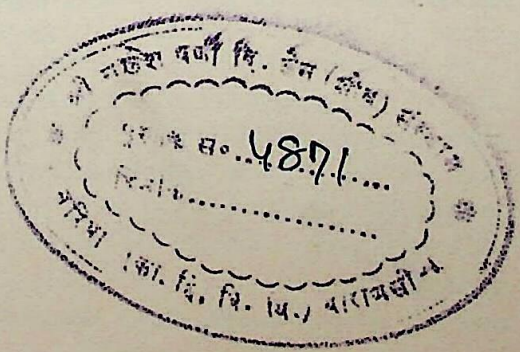
FOREWORD

Dr. Parmeshwar Solanki's plea to reconstruct Indian history in the way Mahāvīra Era begins from 1703 before Vikram Era needs further careful research. He has based his conclusion mostly on the basis of the *Purāṇas* and some other important works like *Tiloya-paṇṇattī. Jambū Pr., Kaṣāya Pāhuḍa, Kalpasūtra, Dhavalā Ṭīkā* and some of the Buddhistic texts like *Majjima Nikāya, Samāgama Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya, Pasādika Sutta* etc. I wonder if he has taken into consideration the Vedic evidences also. His stand that Chronology has been adjusted in different periods, omitting the kingless periods and setting right the prevalent intervals requires closer scrutiny.

It is unfortunate that all religious traditions claim to be the most ancient. In matters of historical truths such sectarianism must be avoided. Whether Jainism is the oldest religion or not; this is certain that it has to be traced back to *Ṛṣabha deva,* whose references are found in abundance in the *Vedas.* Hence his antiquity is proved automatically. To base things on Paurāṇic legends of *Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali* is not very safe. We should rely more on recorded history, archaeology etc.

I commend this collect of Dr. Parmeshwar Solanki on the Mahāvīra Era.

Dr. Ramjee Singh
Vice-chancellor
Jain Vishva-Bharati Institute
(Deemed University),
Ladnun-341 306 (Rajasthan).



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INTRODUCTION

The following pages embody the results of the study undertaken by Dr. Solanki, the auther of this small but most absorbing broachure, on one of the disputable points in Indian Chronology in general and Jaina Chronology in particular. The problem that deserves our utmost attention centres round the date of Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra. Unfortunately the savants of indological studies have not bestowed that amount of attention upon this problem which it really anticipates. Whether Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa Era was started after the departure of Lord Mahāvīra from this mortal world or not is a question which merits serious consideration and upon which Dr. Solanki has plodded unremittingly and meticulously.

The thesis of Dr. Solanki as that Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa took place in 1703 before Vikrama Era i.e. 1761 B.C. The traditional belief is that Mahāvīra attained Nirvāṇa in 470 before Vikrama Era i.e. 527 B.C. Thus here we find a gap of more than twelve hundred years. The whole discussion initiated by the author bristles with citations from the inscription, literary texts, the Purāṇas and astrological calculations etc. The most potent argument adduced by Dr. Solanki in favour of his thesis is based on the evidence of the Barli inscription and the Aihole inscription etc.

It is the conviction of the author that there is something wrong underlying our present day system of chronology and he has tried to the best of his ability to set it right. This approach may not give sapor to some scholars and I am also not so sanguine as to suppose that the conclusions arrived at by the author have settled the matter once and for all but, I am sure, this booklet would attract the mind and soul of the scholarly world.

15.8.1993

Rai Ashwini Kumar
Professor & Head
Dept. of Jainology
Jain Vishva-Bharati Institute,
Ladnun.

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Premise

MAHĀVIRA ERA OF JAIN CHRONOLOGY

Jain Chronology contains two types of time cycles—ascending and descending. The latter starts from joy to sorrow whereas the former repeats it from sorrow to happiness. The cycle completes in "*Twenty Koḍākoḍī Sāgaropama*" limit and makes a *Kalpa* (creation) (Jambū Pr. 2/115). According to *Sarvārthasiddhiḥ*, the cycle completes in descending six parts, i.e., *sushama-sushamā, sushamā, sushama-dushmā, dushama-sushamā, dushamā and ati-dushamā,* whereas in ascending six parts, i.e., *dushama-dushamā, dushmā, dushama-sushamā, sushama-dushamā, sushamā and ati-sushamā,* mentioned also in Ārya Siddhānta (3.9) :

उत्सर्पिणी युगार्धं पश्चादवसर्पिणी युगार्धञ्च ।
मध्ये युगस्य सुषमादावन्ते दुष्षमेन्दूच्चयात् ॥

The limit of Creation of this twenty "*koḍākoḍī sāgaropama*" makes a period of two hundred thousand years or a period of Two Millennia, that can be counted as under :—sushama-sushamā=40,000 years, sushamā=30,000 years, sushamā-dushamā=20,000 years, dushama-sushamā=5800 (4200 years less in 10,000); dushamā=2,100; ati-dushamā=2,100 and dushama-dushamā=2,100 years, dushamā=2100 years, dushama-sushamā=5800 years, sushamā-dushamā=20,000 years, sushamā=30,000 years, ati-sushamā=40,000 years. (This is all imaginary calculation. The scriptures contain more period of time and the *Huṇḍāvasarpiṇī* period of time is believed to be including numberless ascending and descending cycles of the time).

According to *Tiloyapaṇṇāttī* (Gāthā 4/1239), Lord Ṛṣabha attained *nirvāṇa* while 3 years, 8 months and 15 days were still left in third *ārā* (spoke) in descending cycle whereas Lord Mahāvira achieved liberation when the same period remained in the fourth *ārā* (spoke). The *Kalpa Sūtra* repeats the same duration in other words that *Arhat Ṛṣabha* of *Koshal* attained *nirvāṇa* while 3 years and 8½ months were still left in the third spoke. Thereafter in the fourth *ārā* (spoke) i e. less 4200 years "*sāgaropama Koḍākoḍī*", or of 5800 years, (less 4200 years in 10,000 years) while 3 years and 8½ months were still left, Lord Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa*. Thus the whole period between the two *nirvāṇas* (liberation of Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra) equalises the period of

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fourth *ārā* (spoke) of the descending cycle.

In *Kaṣāya-Pāhuḍa* (1,56.75.2) and *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (4.1474) too, we find the mention of starting of *Dushamā ārā* (spoke) before 3 years 8 months and one fortnight after the death of Lord Mahāvīra as under :—

१. एदाणि पण्णरस दिवसे हि अट्ठमासे हि अहिय पंचहत्तरि वासेसु सोहिदे वड्ढमाण जिणिंदे णिव्वुदे संते जो सेसो चउत्थ कालो तस्स पमाणं होदि ।

२. णिव्वाणे वीर जिणे वास तये अट्ठमास पक्खेसुं ।
गलिदेसुं पंचमओ दुस्सम कालो समल्लि यदि ॥

Thus the difference of 5800 years is justified between the death of Lord *Ṛṣabha* and Lord *Mahāvīra*, the first and the last *tīrthaṅkaras* of Jaina Religion.

Occurrence of Comet :

Kalpa Sūtra (128, 129, 130) mentions that wicked comet named *Bhashma Rāshi* entered in the *Uttarā-phālgunī nakshtra*, the 12th lunar mansion, and birth planet of Lord *Mahāvīra* in the same night in which (*amāvasyā*) he attained liberation, which brought disgrace for his disciples, and after expiry of 2000 years the disciples were respected again when the wicked star moved out of *Uttarā-phālgunī* planet.

If this shooting star (*bhasma-rāsi graha*) is recognised as Halley comet, its appearance is recorded since 240 B.C. to 1986 A.D. in Chinese record when it was last witnessed and if we back-calculate in its periodical appearances in the past, it might have been seen entering in the 12th lunar mansion for the first time in between 1760 B.C. to 1746 B C.

The famous astrologer Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, has also recorded the movement of some shooting stars. According to him, orbital period of the *Kaliketu* is 300 years and 9 months, and after its visibility, *Paitāmaha Chalaketu*, or *Kāshyap Śvetketu* appear after the expiry of 1500 years. By this description it is justified that after the death of *Mahāvīra* the disciples who were neglected got the respect again after the expiry of 1800 years and 9 months, i.e., in the reign of *Shālivahan Shak*, the patron of Jainism.

The mention of Shak rulers :

Tiloyapaṇṇattī and *Dhavalāṭīkā* mention five great *Shak* rulers in the 461 th year, 605 years and 5 months, 7995 years and 5 months, 9785 th year and 14793 th year after the death of Lord *Mahāvīra* as under :—

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"जिणे सिद्धिगदे चउसदइगिसट्ठि वास परिमाणे :
कालम्मि अदिक्कंते उप्पण्णो एत्थ सकराओ ॥१४९६॥

अहवा वीरे सिद्धे सहस्सणव कम्मि सगसयब्भहिए ।
पणसीदिम्मिय तीरे पणमासे सकणिओ जादो ॥ १४९७

चोद्दस सहस्स सग सयतेणउदी वास काल विच्छिदे ।
वीरसर सिद्धी दो उप्पण्णो सगणिओ अहवा ॥ १४९८

णिव्वाणे वीरजिणे छव्वास सदेसु पंचवारिसेसं ।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं संजादो सगणिओ अहवा ॥ १४९९"

—तिलोयपण्णती, चौथा अधिकार

"पंच य मासा पंचय वासा छच्चेव होंति वाससया ।
सगकालेण य सहिया थावे यव्वो तदो रासी ॥ ४१

सत्तसहस्साणवसद पंचाणउदी सपंच मासाय ।
अइकंता वासाणं जइया तइया स गुप्पत्ती ॥ ४३"

—धवला, ९.४.१.४४

The description of *Shak* king in 605 years and 5 months of Mahāvīra's era, is recorded in *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (60.551), *Titthogāti Payaṇṇā*, (623), *Triloksāra* (850) and *Vichāra Shreṇī* (Merutuṅga) too. A manuscript preserved in Ārrah (Bihar) also mentions that after the expiry of 605 years and 5 months, i.e., 77 years and 7 months before the period of *Āchārāṅgīs* (683 years) the *Shak* King was born after Lord *Mahāvīra's* death.

Out of the five dates mentioned above, the last two, i.e., at the expiry of 9785 years and 14793 years, the Shak King was born, is incorporated only through the *Paurāṇic* references of Hindus, but the first three dates are reckoned as under :—

(1) After 461 years of *Mahāvīra's* death, (i.e., 1703 B.V.E) King Khārvela was coronated in 1243th year. Before Vikram Era and thereafter in his 10th year of rule (i.e., 470 years after the death of *Mahāvīra*) he started the first *Shak* era of Jain chronology when Prince Vāsuk was made heirapparent and the third epoch of Kaliṅga dynasty ended i.e., on the death of Kuḍepashri, the father of King Khārvela. This is the first *Vikram Shak era* in Jain chronology and Khārvela is the first *Shak* King (Tulsī-prajña, Editorial, 17/4).

(2) Shūdrak, King of Shūdra dynasty, started his own *Shak* era after 605 years 5 months of Mahāvīra's death (i.e., 1703 B.V.E) in the year 1098 B.V.E. (1097 years and 7 months). This era has been mentioned in *Jyotish Darpaṇa* (Anoop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, Ms. No. 4677) by Kañchu yallāryya, the famous astrologer—

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'बाणवेदनवचंद्रवर्जिता १९४५ स्तेपि शूद्र शूद्रकसमा प्रकीर्तिताः ।
तेम्य विक्रम समा भवन्ति वै नागनंद वियदिन्दु वर्जिता : १०९८ ॥'

"That the era of Shūdra Shūdrak starts after 1945 years of Kali age, and the Vikram era starts in his 1098 th year".

This Shūdra Shūdrak is the same "Rāyo Simuk Sātvāhano" whose reliefs are engraved at Nānāghāṭ caves and he is the same King Sindhuk described in Purāṇas together with his eight brothers, and during his reign Jainism flourished as well.

(3) The third *Shak* King is mentioned to be born after 7995 years and 5 months, but *Dhavalāṭīkā* (43/132) does not mention the commencement of the period after Mahāvīra's death. In fact, this calculation starts from the death of Lord Ṛṣabha instead of Mahāvīra's death. As already mentioned, there is a gap of 5800 years between the deaths of Lord *Ṛṣabha* and Lord *Mahāvīra*. Thus it becomes 7503 years with the addition of 1703 years B.V.E., i.e., including the gap of 800 years+1703 B.V.E. After that the *Shak* King was born in fifth month and 492th year of Vikram era whose death occurred in 526 V.E. according to *Darshan Pāhuḍa* (gāthā 24-28) :—

'पंच सए छव्वीसे विक्कम रायस्स मरणपत्तस्स ।
दक्खिण महुरा जादो द्राविडसंघो महामोहो ॥' २८

Dhavalā-ṭīkā also calls this Vikram Rāyā as *Shak* King in the following manner :—

"भट्टारएण टीका लिहिएसा वीरसेणेण ।
अठतीसम्हि सतसए विक्कमरायं किएसु सगणामे ।
वासे सुते रसीए भाणु विलग्गे धवलपक्खे ॥"

The Omniscient Period :

Nemichandra, the author of *Triloksāra*, comes to the conclusion that the Omniscience period is 65, 536 (*paṇṇaṭṭhi pañcha sayā chhattisā*) which is the last score in *Sarvadhārā* counting. It is the square figure of number 256. It becomes very important figure in chronology if we take it as the figure of months. The author of *Trilokasāra* recognises the birth of *Vikram* King after 605 years 5 months of *Mahāvīra's* death, and thereafter he mentions the birth of *Kalki* King 394 years 7 months later :

"पणछस्सय वस्सं पणमासजुदं गमिय वीर णिव्वुइदो ।
सगराजो जो कक्की चदुण वतिय महिय सगमासं ॥"

Thus if we affix and suffix the Omniscience period of 65,536 months, or 5461 years 4 months to the above one thousand years

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(605.5 + 394.7) the *Kalki* (Sandacottus) period starts 6461 years 4 months after Lord Ṛṣabha's death, the first Omniscient.

The Greek historians have recorded 6462 years from King Dionysus (King *Dushyanta*) to the Sandracottus (*Kalki* ?) including the two periods of 300 + 120 years of dynasty break. They have also recorded the period of 6451 years 3 months between Father Baccus (*Shukrāchārya* ?) and Alexander the Great, which exactly becomes 6461 years 4 months on the coronation of Sandracottus (*Kalki*) during the rign of Seleucus, i.e,, after 10 years 1 months, after the death of Alexander the Great.

Thus abacus calculates the figure of 6803 years 4 months and 15 days if we enumerate the gap of 5800 years between the death of Lord *Ṛṣabha* and Lord *Mahāvīra*+3 years 8 months and 15 days left in the fourth spoke+one thousand years till the *Kalki's* birth. But the figure of 6803 years, four months and 15 days exceeds by 342 years four months and 15 days to above calculation figure of Omniscience period+one thousand years of *Kalki's* birth. Hence we have to accept the appearance of Lord *Ṛṣabha* four hundred years earlier. He might have achieved Omniscience 342 years 4 months and 15 days before his death.

There have been recorded in *Kalpa Sūtra* (147 & 160) the time of *nirvāṇa* of Lord Pārshva and Lord Mahāvīra as under :—

'समणस्सं भगवओ महावीरस्स जाव सव्व दुक्ख प्पहीणस्स नववास सयाइं विइक्कंताइं, दसमस्सय वास सयस्स अयं असीइय संवच्छरे काले गच्छति, वायणंतरे पुण अयं तेणउए संवच्छरे काले गच्छति इति दीसइ ।। १४७'

'पासस्स णं अरहओ जाव सव्व दुक्ख प्पहीणस्स दुवालस वास सयाइं विइक्कंताइं, तेरसमस्सय वास सयस्स अयं तीसदमे संवच्छरे काले गच्छइ ।।१६०'

"That a period of nine hundred years elapsed and this is eightieth year, or according to another calculations, it is the 993rd year since the death of Lord *Mahāvīra*.

Similarly, twelve hundred years expired and thirtieth year is passing since the death of Lord *Pārshva*.

This calculation refers to the composition period of the *Kalpa Sūtra* i.e., 980 years after the death of Lord *Mahāvīra* (*Veer Nirvāṇam. Tataḥ 980 Pustake nyastaḥ*). Accordingly it was 1230th year after the death of Lord *Pārshva* and *Mahāvīra's* death took place (BVE 723+1230=1953—1703 BVE) exactly 250 years later.

Unfortunately, early Jaina texts do not take much interest in describing the life of Mahāvīra. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* is the only early work giving some details. However, it also does not record his death.

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Buddhist texts, i.e., *Majjim Nikāya, Sāmāgama Sutta,* (3.14), *Dīgha Nikāya, Pāsādika-Sutta* (3.6) and *Dīgh Nikāya Paryāya Sutta* (3.10) mention the departure of Lord Mahāvīra and the record obviously infers that the *Buddha* was living at the time of *Mahāvīra's* death.

In this way *Mahāvīra* era begins from 1703 before *Vikram* era and we should reconstitude Indian history in that light because it is authenticated by the Purāṇas and Indian tradition.

Mahāvīr Jayanti, 2050 V.E.
Jaina Vishva-Bhāratī
Ladnun (India).

—Parmeshwar Solanki

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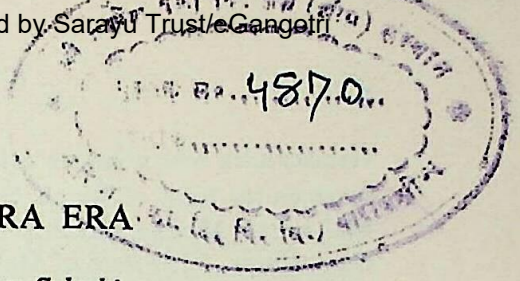

THE MAHĀVIRA ERA

Dr. Parmeshwar Solanki

Dr. Jacobi regards 477 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and 484 B.C. as that of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*. But he refrains from giving any specific indication throughout his essay why it became inevitable for him to accept these dates. He simply says[1] "though according to the unanimous traditions of the Jaina, Candragupta's accession took place 215 years A.V. (after the death of Mahāvīra), in accordance with the view propounded by Hemacandra, (*Pariśiṣṭa Parva*, 8-330) Candragupta acceded to the throne in 155 A.V." Dr. Jacobi has supported his view by citing another Jain work, *Kahāvalī*, of Bhadreśvara.

Now, the fact is that, as stated by Dr. Jacobi, it is unanimously accepted in all the Jain traditions that Candragupta's accession took place only 215 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and not 155 years, as accepted by Ācārya Hemacandra.[2] The view of Ācārya Hemacandra would prove baseless, if tested on the touchstone of history. Also, the scholars have regarded it as a great blunder committed by Ācārya Hemacandra. The most substantiated opinion in this regard is that[3] a king named Pālaka was enthroned at Ujjain the very day on which Mahāvīra attained *Nirvāṇa*. He (or his dynasty) reigned for 60 years. After this, Nandas ruled for 155 years. Then ensued the Mauryan rule, that is to say Candragupta Maurya was enthroned 215 years after the death of Mahāvīra. This allusion has been extracted from '*Titthogati Paiṇṇaya*' which is supposed to be much older than both the books viz. *Kahāvali* of Bhadreśvara and *Pariśiṣṭa Parva* of Hemacandra.

It seems that the period of 60 years of the reign of Pālaka has completely been omitted in the calculation of Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭa* Parva. Mr. Purna Chandra Nāhar and Mr. Krishna Chandra Ghosh, write[4] "Hemacandrāchārya must have omitted by oversight to count the period of 60 years of King Pālaka after Mahavira's Nirvāṇa."

Dr. Jacobi has edited *Pariśiṣṭa Parva*.[5] He has observed in the preface to it that Hemacandrācārya had composed that work in haste, as a consequence of which the work is studded with errors. Elaborating the subject in the preface itself, Dr. Jacobi has illustrated several compositional and grammatical errors committed by

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Hemacandra with concrete evidence. It is quite probable that the verse on the basis of which Dr. Jacobi has inferred the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, might have also been composed with the same carelessness. The date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* accepted by Hemacandrācārya him-self, while stating the period of his own contemporary King Kumārpāla is 527 B.C., and not 477 B.C. Hemacandrācārya writes in *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*,[6] "When 1669 years will have been completed after the death of Mahāvīra, there will flourish a King named Kumārapāla who will shine like a moon of Cāulukya dynasty". Now it is unanimously accepted that Kumārapāla's accession took place in 1142 A.D.[7] But according to Hemacandrācārya, the interval between this event and the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is 1669 years. In this way, Hemacandrācārya himself has also accepted 1669—1142=527 B.C., as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*.

2. Chronology of Mahāvīra :

This date[8] (527 B.C.) is substantiated by an extraordinary evidence : History accepts 322 B.C. as the date of the accession of Candragupta Maurya to the sovereignty of Magadha.[9] The historians call this date a 'Light-house' in that dark period of Indian history.[10] They decide the chronology of hundreds of years, posterior and prior to this period, on the basis of this unanimously accepted and definitely verified date. According to the chronology adopted by some ancient Jain traditional works, such as *Titthogāli Paiṇṇaya, Titthoddhāra Prakraṇa*, Merutuṅga's *Vicāra-Śreṇī* etc., the event of Mahāvīa's death had taken place 215 years before Candragupta's accession. It should also be remarked here that the above works speak of Candragupta's accession to the throne of Avanti, and not that of Magadha. It is also a historical fact that in 312 B.C. (i.e., 10 years after Candragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha) Candragupta acquired the Kingdom of Avanti.[11] Thus, the Jain chronology and the historical chronology endorse each other and the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is confirmed in 312+215=527 B.C.

3. The Vikrama Era :

The above date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is also supported by the historical dates of Vikrama, Shaka and Gupta eras. The ancient chronicles and works of the Jain tradition state that Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* took place 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era.[12] According to the unanimous opinion of historians, the Vikrama era started in 57 B.C.[13] This clearly implies that Mahāvīra attained the *nirvāṇa* in 57+470=527 B.C.

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4. The Shaka Era :

According to both the traditions of Jains—*Śvetāmbara* and *Digambara*, the shaka era commenced 605 years and 5 months after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*.[11] According to history, the Shaka era started in 78 A D.[15] Hence, the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, comes out to be 605—78=527 B.C.

5. Astrological Calculations :

The learned Ācāryas of Terāpantha have also accepted 527 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. They have supported their belief by the astrological calculations. According to the Jain scriptures, at the time of Mahāvīra's death, an asterism of ashes (*Bhasma-graha*) entered into the sign of Zodiac under which Mahāvīra was born (the birth-*rāśi*) and it continued to stay for 2000 years.[16] According to the fourth Ācārya of Terāpantha. Srimaj Jayācārya, that asterism left the sign of Zodiac of Mahāvīra's birth in the year 1531 of Vikrama era.[17] Again, the scriptures have predicted that a comet (*Dhūmaketu*) of duration of 333 years, will set in, 1990 years after Mahāvīra's death.[18] According to Srimaj Jayācārya,[19] the comet left the sign of Zodiac of Mahāvīra's birth in the year 1953 of Vikrama era. On the basis of the above two astrological evidences, we reach 527 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* as follows :—

Total duration of asterism of ash	—	2000 years
Date of its leaving the birth-*rāśi*	—	1473 A.D.
Date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*	—	527 B.C.

Similarly, 1990+333 years after Mahāvīra's death, the comet left the birth-*rāśi*, so that total duratjon of comet is 2323 years—Date of its leaving the birth-*rāśi* 1796 A.D. and date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*—527 B.C.

But anyhow the date is negligent and we shall point out that the date arrived at by us for the *Mahāvīra Era* is 1761 B C. and it is supported by a mass of evidence, which we shall now discribe.

6. A New Approach :

The traditional date of 527 B.C. is based on the assumption that Mahāvīra attained *Nirvāṇa* 470 years before the beginning of Vikrama Era (i.e. 58 B.C.) which is erroneous on the basis of the ancient chronology described in the Purāṇas and older Jain works and substantaited by epigraphic evidence. The new approach shows that Mahāvīra attained *Nirvāṇa* 1703 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era (i.e. 58 B.C.) and hence the date of *Nirvāṇa* of Bhagawān Mahāvīra should be 1761 B.C, The date of the Mahābhārata war,

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according to this chronology is 3101 B.C. (i.e. 3043 before the Vikrama Era). If the difference between the dates of *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and Buddha is considered to be 23 years, the date of the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* is 1738 B C. (or 1680 years before Vikrama Era).

The following are the main evidence :

I. King Khārvela of Kaliṅga started a new Era under the name of "Vikrama Era" in the 10th year of his reign, on the occassion of "appointment of his successor-designate : This according to the Jain sources refers to the first Vikrama era which is 470 years after the Bhagawān Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. This date of Khārvela is 1233 years before the prevalent Vikrama Era[20] (i.e. 58 B.C.) or 1291 B.C. Thus the date of *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra is 1233+470=1703 years before Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

II. Another coroboration of the date is available from the first "Shaka era" which according to the Jain sources,[21] was established 605 years and 5 months after the Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and 135 years after the first Vikrama era i.e. in 1098 years before the prevalent Vikrama era (58 B.C.). It was a shūdra king "Shūdraka" who started this Shaka Era.[22]

III. A third proof is obtained by the date of King Vipra Shūdraka of Ujjain and the author of "*Mudrārākshasa Prakaraṇa*". According to the Jain sources[23] the king was the first "Kalki King" who started the era in his own name 1005 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, The second *Kalki* King was *Chaturmukha Kalki*. of (the son of) Indragupta who prevailed 1000 years after the first *Kalki* King. He died at the age of 70 and ruled for 21 years+21 years in two parts—first as Sohatra Sogisoma, the son of Jayasoma (Indra); and second, after ruling for 21 years, he made a "*atisatra*" (religious sacrifice) of 61 nights at *Nandsā Taḍāga* (tank) and made an assembly of kings, declaring himself as "Commender-General" and ruled for 21 years more as the Commander-General.[24] His rule ended in *Krita Samvat* 301 (which is the same as prevalent Vikrama Era of 58 B.C.).

Thus, these documents and allusions are more ancient and authentic than those furnished by the works of Merutuṅga and Hemachandra. It seems that after the 10th century (of Vikrama Era) the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* was erroneous considered to be 470 years before the Vikrama era (58 B.C.) and thus the date 470 before Kṛt Vikrama or 527 B.C. became prevalent in the Jain tradition. Therefore one should utilise the later records (after 10th century) very cautiously.

7. The following evidence form the basis of this new approach to Indian chronology in general and the dates of Mahāvīra (and

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Buddha) in particular :

(i) The traditional Indian chronology shows that the date of *Mahābhārata War* is 3043 years before the advent of the Krit Vikrama Era (58 B.C.) and 3179 years before the advent of the Shālivāhan Shaka Era (78 A.D.) equivalent to 3101 B.C.

The astrologers[25] have given this date in their ancient works.

(ii) The "astrological calculations" pertaining to the beginning of "*Vasanta*" (spring)[26] in the time of *Mahābhārata* was done in *Rohiṇī Nakśatra* (the fourth lunar mansion). After that, the beginning of *Vasanta* (spring) took place respectively in *Krittikā* (the 3rd lunar mansion), *Bharaṇi* (the 2nd lunar mansion), *Ashvini* (the 1st lunar mansion) and *Revatī* (the 27th or the last lunar mansion). Now, at present, the spring beginning is in *Uttarā Bhādrapada*, the 26th lunar mansion. For every lunar mansion or constellation, it takes 1000 years to complete the spring-beginning. For 5 lunar mansions, the period comes out to be 5000 years.

(iii) The Usra Major (i.e. Seven star group—*Saptarshi Maṇḍal*[27] changes a constellation after every 100 years. The total no. of constillation is 27. At the time of *Mahābhārata*, the Usra Major was in *Maghā Nakśatra* (10th lunar mansion). It means that the group has changed remaining 18 lunar mansions and a full cycle of 27 lunar mansions, and in the third round has changed 5 lunar mansions and entered in the second half of the 6th lunar mansion (viz. *Ārdrā*). Thus 5050 years have elapsed since *Mahābhārata*.

(iv) Hariswāmi (V.E. 696) says that he finished his Commentary on *Śatpatha* 3740 years after the *Mahābhārata* or beginning of *Kali* age.[28a] Thus 3740—697=3043 years before *Krit*. vik. Era.

(v) Ravikīrti (v.e. 691), the poet and writer of the eulogy (*prashasti*) in the Jain Temple at *Aihole* at the time of king Pulakeshin II of Chaulukya Dynasty, says—"when 556 years of the Shaka Era passed, 3735 years elapsed from *Mahābhārata*.[28b]

(vi) A copper plate (*Tāmrapatra*) of V.E. 647 of king Bhāskarvarmā of *Prāgjyotishapura* who was in the 12th generation of *Puṇyavarmā*, refers to a period of 3000 years[29] from king Bhagadatta (who fought in the Mahābhārat war) upto king *Devabhūpa* or *Puṇyavarmā*. Thus it substantiates the date of *Mahābhārata* in 3043 B.V.E.

(vii) The calculation of 3043 years[30] from *Mahābhārata* upto the beginning of the *Krit Vikrama Samvatsara* is given in *Vāyu Purāṇa, Matsya Purāṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa* etc. which undoubtedly makes clear the whole chronology. According to this,

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1500 years passed between Parikshit and Mahāpadma Nanda.
836 " " between accession of Mahāpadma Nanda & End of Āndhra Rule.
696 or 706 years passed upto the end of Kolikil's rule and starting of Vikrama Era.

Thus the total years come out to be 3042 (or 3032).

(viii) A very clear evidence is obtained from Kañchu Yallārya's *Jyotish Darpaṇa*.[31] The verses give us an account of two *Kalki's* who are referred to in the Jain works.[32] The first *Kalki* was Vipra Shūdraka of Ujjain who flourished 1005 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. He was followed by :

Pālaka Rule	60 years
Vijaya Dynasty	155 years
Bherunda	40 years
Pushyamitra	30 years
Vasumitra & Agnimitra	60 years
Gandharvasena Rule	100 years
Naravāhan	40 years
Āndhra Bhritya	242 years
Gupta Dynasty	231 years
Total—	958 years

Then prevailed the second *Kalki* king *"Indraputra chaturmukha"*, who ruled for 21+21 years in two terms. He belonged to the Ugra Dynasty *Mālav* Dynesty of Ikshvāku Dynasty.[33] The second reference of Kañchu yallārya is of Shūdra King Shūdraka, about which we have already discussed above. The Shaka Era started by him 1098 years B.V.E. and 605 years A.M.N. (after Mahāvīra *Nirvāṇa*).

8. The second Shaka Era started in the year 543 before the Krit Vikrama i.e. 601 B.C. by Vinaymitra Dewal, king of Khotān who overruled the whole of upper India and issued coins, marked with Lord Śiva and his consort *Umā* or their son *Skandakārtikeya*. His gold coins are marked with Śiva on *Nandī* (the bull) and the king on Elephant and engraved "महरजस राजधिरजस सर्वलोग ईश्वरस महिश्वरस ।"

Three hundred years later i.e. 301 B.C. rose a powerful dynasty on the ashes of the Āndhra empire with their seat at Pātaliputra and that was Gupta Dynasty. Al Beruni, the famous historian says, "the epoch of the Gupta's falls like that of the Vallabha Era, 241 years later than Śakakāla" (Al Beruni's India, Sachau, II p. 7). It means that G.E. as well as Vallabha Era fell 241 years later than Śakakāla. Al Beruni has compared the beginning of G.E. with the beginning of

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Vallabha Era and according to him both the eras started 241 years later than Śaka Kāla of 543 B.C. and another Śakakāla of 78 A.D. i.e. 543—241=302 B.C. and 78+241+319 A.D.

Pliny (VI, 21, 22, 23) says that at the time of Alexander's invasion Āndhras were reputed to possess a military force second only to that of the command of the king of the Prasii. The Āndhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants."

This description of Āndhra power cannot agree with a Sandracottus' identification with Chandragupta Maurya. But it can very well apply to the days of Samudra Gupta and Chandragupta I, the mighty Āndhras has just gone down. Before the rise of Guptas, Āndhras were very powerful. In fact according to the *Purāṇas*, Āndhras were the Imperial rulers, who just preceded the Guptas. It was almost on the ashes of the Āndhra empire, that the Guptas built up their empire.

It is said that Seleucus invaded Indian border between 304 and 302 B.C. Plutarch's phrase "by that time" would suggest that Sandracottus had come to throne recently when Seleucus invaded the Indian border. And this Sandracottus is Samudragupta of Gupta dynesty, whose every king attached the family name "Gupta" as a part of his personal name, as Strabo says that according to Megasthanes "the king in addition to his family name must adopt the surname of Palibothras, as Sandracottus for instance did."

So the first Shaka Era started 1098 years B.V.E., the second Devaputra Saka Communicate with 543 BVE and the third Sālivāhan Shaka begins from VE 135 or 78 AD while krit Vikram Era starts from 57 BC, In this way the whole of Northern India was under the sway of Devaputra Śaka of Khotān during the six centuries B.C. while the Southern India was governed by Āndhra and the Western parts of our country were then occupied by the nominees of Roman empire simultaneously. This is also evident from the story of Shaka Kshatrapas migrated to India in the days of Darius. Herodotus, the Greek Historian who had lived at his court, writes in his history.[34]

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produced crocodiles, discharges itself into sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Skylax of Caryanda (a fellow-countryman of Herodotus). They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspatyrus

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and the country of Pactyia, sailed down in the river towards the east and Sunrise to the seas. Then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I, before, n entioned, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea."

Naqsh-i-Rustum Inscription of Darius distinguishes the following three types of Shakas, all of whom were under him *Śakaḥ Somavargaḥ*, *Śakaḥ Tigrakhaṇḍaḥ* and *Śakaḥ Taradargaḥ*. The third type of Sakaḥ Taradargaḥ. i.e. Shakas across the ocean were the śakas who lived in India and they were the *Kṣatrapas*. They had favoured Jainism. Uṣavadata Nahapāna seems to have taken to Jainism. Nahapāna is particulary mentioned as a separate king in Jain chronology.

Now Darius ruled C. 526 to 486 B.C. and the firsl Kalki ruled in 699 B.V.E. or 756 B.C. There after 445 years (60+155+40+30+60+100) Naravāhana begins his reign, just 175 years after the king Darius (died in 486 B.C.).[35]

9. Conclusion : Conclusively, it is clear that our chronology has been adjusted at different periods, perhaps omitting the kingless periods and setting right the prevalent intervals (between the two major events). It seems a case particularly followed in Jain chronology.

However it is now high time to reconsider and redress the chronology and reconstruct our ancient Indian History. The date of Mahāvīra s *Nirvāṇa* is definitely B.C. 1761 and Buddha *Parinirvāṇa* took place 23 years later i.e 1738 B.C. and these days may be called the "light house" for the reconstruction of our history.

FOOT NOTES

1. श्रमण Vol. XIII Nos. VI-VII, 1962 Banāras, p. 10.
2. एवंच श्री महावीर मुक्तेवर्षशते गते ।
   पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभवन्नृपः ॥
   —परिशिष्ट पर्व, ८.३३९.
3. तित्थोगाली पइन्नय, ६२०-२१.
4. *Epitome of Jainism*, Appendix-A, IV.
5. Published by *Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
6. अस्मन्निर्वाणतो वर्षशतान्यभय षोडश: ।
   नवषष्टिश्च यास्यन्ति यदा तत्र पुरे तदा ॥
   कुमारपालो भूपालश्चौलुक्यकुल चन्द्रमा: ।
   भविष्यति महाबाहुः प्रचण्डाखण्डशासन: ॥
   —त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित, पर्व १०, अध्याय १२, श्लोक ४५-४६.

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7. *An advanced History of India* by R,C. Majumdar, H.C. Ray Chaudhuri and K.K. Datta, P. 202.

8. Many an authoritative historians and scholars have approved this date; See for example,
   (a) Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāyabahādura Gouri Śankara Ozha *Jain Satya Prakash*, Vol. II Nos. IV-V P.P. 217-81.
   (b) Dr. Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Dharma Aura Darśhan* p. 89.
   (c) Dr. Vasudeva Sharaṇ Agrawal, *Tirthaṅkar Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Preface, P. XIX.
   (d) Dr. Hiralal Jain, *Tattva Samuccaya*, p. 6.
   (e) Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Vishveshar Nāth Reu : *Bhārat Ke Prāchīn Rājvaṁśa*, part II p. 436.

9. Candragupta Maurya and his Times, by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, pp. 44 46; *Bhārat Kā Bṛhat Itihāsa*, Part I (Prāchīn Bhārat), by Shrinetra Pāndeya, 4th Edition, P. 242.

10. To these sources, Indian history is also indebted for what has been called the sheet-anchor of its chronology, for the starting point of Indian chronology is the date of Candragupta's accession to sovereignty.
    —*Candragupta Maurya and His Times* by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, p. 3. Also, see, Ancient India by Rapson, p.p. 20-21.

11. (a) The date 313 B.C. for Candragupta's accession if it is based on correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Mālva, as the chronological datum found in a verse, where the Maurya king finds mention in the list of successors of Pālaka, the king of Avanti.
    —*Political History of Ancient India by* Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri.
    (b) The Jain date 313 B.C., if based on correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti (Malva).
    —*An advanced History of India*, by Dr. R.C. Majumdar, Dr. H.C. Raychauduri, K.K. Datta, p. 99.
    (c) Although the date 313 B.C. for Candragupta's accessian is based on correct tradition, it refers to his victory over Mālva or Avanti, because the verse, in which this chronology is adopted, mentions, Candragupta in the list of the successors of king Pālaka of Avanti.
    —Shrinetra Pāndey, *Śramana*, Vol. XIII Nos. VI-VII 1962, pp. 245-246.

12. (a) *Jam rayanim Kālngo, arihā titthaṁkaro mahāvīro.*
    Tam rayanim avantivai, ahisitto pālso rāyā ||1||

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Satthi Pālayaraṇṇo (60), Panavannasayam tu hoi nandānām (155) Aṭṭhasayam muriyānam (108), tīsa cciya pusamittass a (30) //2// Balamitta-bhanumitta satthi (60), vari-sāni catta (4) nahavane Taha gaddabhilla-rajjam terasa (13), varisa sagassa cau (varis) (4) //3//

Sri Vikṛamādityaśca pratibodhitastadrājyam tu Śrī Virasptati catustaye (470) samjātam"

—Tappāgaccha Pattavali by Dharmasāgara Upadhyaya (Ed. and Tr. by Pāṇyas Kalyan Vijayji), pp. 50--52.

(b) *Vikramarajjarambha parao siri vira nivvui bhaniya !*
Sunna muniveda jutto vikkama kalau jinakalo !!
Vikramakalajjinasya virasya kalo jinakalah sunyah (O), muni (7), veda (4) yuktah ! Catvarimstani saptatvadhikavarsani srimahavira-vikramandityayorantaramityarthah Nanvayam kalah viravikram-ayoh katham genyate, ityaha vikramarajyarambhat paratah pascat sriviranirvanadinadanu, bhanita ! Ko bhavah sriviranirva-nadinadanu, 470 varse vikramadityasya rajyarambhadinamiti !
—Vichāra śreṇī by Merutuṅga, pp. 3,4.

(c) *Punaramannirvanat saptyadhikachata satavarse (470) Ujjayinyam srivikramadito raja bhavisyati.....svanamna ca samvatsarapra-pravrtim karṭsyati !*
—Sri Saubhagyapancamyadiparvakathasamgraha, Dīpamalika Vyākhyāna, pp. 56-57.

(d) *Mahamukkha gamanao palaya-nanda-candaguttairaisu bolinesu causaya satterahim vikkamaicco raya hohi ! Tattha sātthi varisanam palagasau rajjam, panapannam nandanam, atthottars sayam moriyam vamsanam, tisam pusamittassa, satthi, balamitta-bhanumittana, calisam naravahanasya, terasa gadda-bhillassa, cattari sagassa Tao vikkamaicco !*
—Vividha tīrthakalpa (Apapabrahat-Kalpa), pp. 38-39. (Quoted in the contemporaneity and the chronology of Mahāvīra and Buddha by Muni Shri Nagrajji, 1970 p. 85).

13. *An advanced History of India,* p. 118 (by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, K.K. Datta).
14. *Titthogaliya Paiṇṇaya,* verses 620-623.
15. *An advanced History of India,* p. 120.
16. *Kalpa sūtra,* Vs 129 (S.B.E: Vol. XXII).
17. *Bhrama-vidhvaṁsaṇam,* preface.
18. Baṅkacūliā.
19. चौपड़ा ईसरचन्द्र द्वारा संपादित भ्रमविध्वंसनम् द्वितीय आवृत्ति, कलकत्ता, सं० १९८०, पृ० १४-१५—"सारांश यह है कि भगवान् के पश्चात् २९१ वर्ष पर्यन्त

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शुद्ध प्ररूपणा रही और पश्चात् १६९९ वर्ष पर्यन्त अशुद्ध बाहुल्य प्ररूपणा रही। अर्थात् दोनों को मिलाने से १९९० वर्ष हुआ। उस समय धूमकेतु ग्रह ३३३ वर्ष के लिए लगा। विक्रम संवत् १५३१ में "लूंका" मुंहता प्रकट हुआ। २००० वर्ष पूर्ण हो जाने से भस्म ग्रह उतर गया। इसका मिलान इस प्रकार कीजिये कि ४७० वर्ष पर्यन्त नन्दीवर्द्धन शाका और १५३० वर्ष पर्यन्त विक्रम संवत् एवं दोनों को मिलाने से २००० वर्ष हो गये।"

It may be Halley's comet that orbitting round the sun in every 76.1 year's period. Accordingly its arrival does not occur in the year 526 B.C; but its 27th round must have been seen in the year 3:0 B.C., if the year of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* was 1761 B.C.

Bhattotpal, the famous commentator on *Bṛhat Samhitā*, quotes occurences and durations of some comets. Accordingly the *Bhasma-graha* i.e. *Paitāmah Chalketu* and its follower *Kāśyap Śvetketu* orbit the sun in every 1500 years simultaneously, one after another and the Kaliketu (Lūṅka) predates them by its duration of 300 years and a months only.

20. In the 10th line of the *khārvela*'s *Hāthigumphā* Inscription it is said "दसमे च वसे कलिंग राजवसाने ततिययुगे सगावसाने कलिंगयुवराजनं वासकारं कारापयति।"

This can be interpreted as—"In the 10th year, King Khārvela, made his son vāsakāra (Vāsuka) successor-designate. At that time, Cheti dynastey had completed three *yugas* (i.e. the reign of Erasa Mahārāja, Kalingādhipati Mahāmeghavāhana and Kuḍepsiri) and most probably the death of Mahārāja Kuḍepsiri might have occurred, so it was the end of an epoch (सगावसान), This event was marked by starting of an era which is referred to as having taken place 470 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*.

Now, the date of Khārvela is inferred from the reference that in Kaliṅga three dynasties reigned after the advent of Kali Age, (c.f. Babu Bhavanichandra Bandyopādhāya's *"Puruṣottom Chandrikā*—Shri Kshetra Dharmer Bikhan", published in 1843, which is in a palmleaf MS kept in Jagannāth Temple at Orissa).

The third dynasty-Cheti got the power in 1407 B.C. after 116 years of reign by Erasa Mahārāj, Kalingadhipati Mahāmeghavāhana and Mahārāj Kuḍepsiri the era was started in 1291 B.C.

Again according to Lama Tārānāth (History of Buddhism, Patna, 1971, p. 47) Puśyamitra *Śuṅga* died 500 years after Buddhas' *Nirvāṇa*.

२१. (i) पणछस्सयवस्सं पणमासजुदं गमिय वीरणिव्बुइदो।
सगराजो ततो कक्की चतुणवतियमाहिय सगमासं॥
—त्रिलोकसार, गाथा-८५०

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(ii) निव्वाणे वीर जिणे, छव्वाससरेसु पंचवरिसेसुं।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं संजादो सगणिओ अहवा॥
—तिलोयपण्णत्ती, गाथा १४९९

(iii) पंचयमासा पंचयवासा छच्चेव होंति वाससया।
सग कालेण य सहियाथाने पव्वो तदो रासी॥
—धवलाटीका

२२-२३. (i) कल्यब्दारूपरहिता पाण्डवाब्दाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः॥
बाणाब्धिगुणदस्रोना २३४५ शूद्रकाब्दा कलेर्गताः॥१॥
गुणाब्धिव्योम रामोना ३०४३ विक्रमाब्दा कलेर्गताः॥
—कंचुयल्लार्य भट्ट विरचित "ज्योतिषदर्पण," पत्रक २२ (अनूप संस्कृत लाइब्रेरी, बीकानेर, एम.एस. नं० ४६७७)।

(ii) तिलोयपण्णत्ती, गाथा १५१० (शोलापुर संस्करण)

24. (i) Maru Bhāratī—Research Journal, Pilani, Vol. 36, No. 4, "Rājasthān Pradesh kā pratham Gan-pramukh-Sohatra Sogi Soma"—Lekh (E.I.27/4 no. 43)

(ii) *Trilokasāra*, gs. 845, 851-856.

25. The Mahābhārata Era or the Pāṇḍavābda or the Kali Age Era started in 3101 B.C. This is calculated by Āryabhaṭṭa (Dashā-giṭikā, 3 and Kālakriyā, 10), Vriddha Garga (quoted by Varāhamihira in *Bṛhat Samhitā* (13.3), Kanchuyallārya Bhaṭṭa (*Jyotish Darpaṇa*, P. 16), Varāhamihira (Pañcha Siddhāntṭikā), Bhāshkarāchārya (Siddhānt Shiromaṇī) and European Astrologer Beilly (quoted in Aciatic Researches No. 7 & 9)

२६. श्रावणस्य च कृष्णस्य सावार्थं दशमी पुनः।
रोहिणी सहिते सोमे स्याद् दक्षिणायनम्॥
यदा माघस्य शुक्लस्य प्रतिप्रद्युन्तरायनम्।
सहोदयं प्रविष्टाभिः सोमार्को प्रतिपद्यतः॥
—महाभारत, अनुशासनपर्व, अध्याय-६३

२७. (i) सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शतं शतम्।
सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद् दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम्॥
(ii) यैश्चारमहं तेषां कथयिष्ये वृद्धगर्गमतात्॥
आसन्मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वी युधिष्ठिर नृपतौ॥
—बृहत्संहिता, २३.२-३

२८. (a) श्रीमतोऽवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमस्य क्षितीशितुः।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरि स्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति॥

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यदाब्दानां कलेर्जग्मु सप्तत्रिंशच्छतानि वै
चत्वारिंशत्समा श्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतम् ॥
—हरिस्वामी कृत शतपथभाष्य (एम० एस०) वि० सं० ६९६

(b) त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पंचषु ॥
पंचाशत्सु कलौकाले षट्सु पंचशतासुच ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥
—ऐहोले-प्रशस्ति (रविकीर्ति) वि० सं० ६९१

२९. तस्माददृष्ट नरकान्नरकादजनिष्ट नृपतिरिन्द्रसखः ।
भागदत्तः ख्यात जयंविजययुधियः समाह्वयत् ॥५॥
तस्यात्मजः क्षतोर्वज्रदत्त नामाभूत् शतमखम् ।
खण्ड लवत्मतिरतोपवद् यः सदा संख्ये ॥६॥
वंश्येषु तस्य नृपतिषु सहस्रत्रयं पदमवाप्य ।
यातेषु देवभूपं क्षितीवरः पुण्यवर्माऽभूत् ॥७॥
—ई० आई० २९.१३-१४

३०. यावत्परिक्षितो जन्म यावन्नंदाभिषेचनम् ।
एवं वर्ष सहस्रंतु ज्ञेयं पंचशतोत्तरम् ॥
× ×
महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परिक्षितः ।
एवं वर्ष सहस्रन्तु ज्ञेयं पंच शतोत्तरम् ॥
पौलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः ।
अन्तरं शतान्याष्टौ षड्विंशन्तु समास्तथा ॥
तावत्कालांतरं भाव्यमान्ध्रान्तादापरिक्षितः ।
भविष्ये ते प्रसंख्याताः पुराणज्ञैः श्रुतर्षिभिः ॥
× ×
एतत्कालमनुप्राप्ताः प्रजाः कलियुगान्तके ।
क्षीणे कलियुगे तस्मिन्दिव्ये वर्ष सहस्रके ॥
निश्शेषास्तु भविष्यन्ति सार्धं कलियुगेन तु ।
स संध्यांशेतु निःशेषे कृतं वै प्रतिपत्स्यते ॥
तच्छिन्नेन तु कालेन ततः कोलिकिलानृपाः ॥
ततः कोलिकिलेभ्यश्च विंध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति ॥
समाः षण्णवतिं ज्ञात्वा पृथिवींच समेष्यति ॥
× ×
"तेषूत्पन्नेषु कैङ्किला यवना भूपतयो भविष्यन्त्ययमूर्द्धाभिषिक्ताः ॥५०॥
तेषामपत्यं विंध्यशक्तिस्ततः पुरंजयस्तस्माद्रामचंद्रस्तस्माद्धर्मवर्मा

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ततो बंड्बरस्ततो भून्नन्दनस्ततस्सुनन्दी तद्भ्रातानन्दियशाशुश्रः प्रवीर
एते वर्ष शतं षड्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यंति ।।५६।।
—वायुपुराण (अध्याय ९९), मत्स्यपुराण (अध्याय २७२)और विष्णुपुराण (४.२४)

३१. बाणाब्धिगुण दस्नोना २३४५ शूद्रकाब्दा गतेगलिः ।
गुणाब्धि व्योमरामोना ३०४३ विक्रमाब्दाः कलेर्गताः ।।
—कंचु यल्लार्य (ज्योतिष दर्पण)

३२. एवं वस्स सहस्से पुह पुह कक्की हवेई एक्केको ।
—तिलोय पण्णत्ती, गाथा—१०९८

33. Description of Kalki is available in Jain *Harivaṁsh* (60.490-92), *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (97-99) and *Trilokasāra, Uttarapurāṇa* etc.

(i) शतं रासभराजानां नरवाहनस्यततः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् ।।४९०।।
भद्रवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एक विंशश्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरूदाहृतम् ।।४९१।।
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।।

(ii) नरवाहनो च चालं ततो भत्थट्ठणा जादा ।।९७।।
भत्थट्ठणाणो कालो दोण्णि समाई हवंति बादाला ।
ततो गुप्ता ताणं रज्जो क्षण्ण सयाणि एगितीसा ।।९८।।
ततो कक्की जादो इदसुदो तस्स चडमुखोणामो ।
सत्तरिवरिसा आउं विगुणिय इगवीस रज्जतो ।।९९।।

(iii) पण छस्सयवस्सं पणमास जुदं गमियवीर णिव्वुइदो ।
सगराजो ततो कक्की चदुणवतिवमहिय सगमार्स ।।८५०।।
× ×
सो उम्मग्गाहिमुहो उवम्मुहो सदरिवास परमाऊ ।
चालीस रज्जओ जिदभूमी पुच्छइ समंतिगणं ।।
अम्हाणं के अवसा णिग्गंथा अत्थि केरि सायारा ।
णिद्धणवत्था भिक्खाभोजी जहसत्थमि दिवयणे ।।
तप्पाणिउडे णिवडिद पढमं पिंडंतु सुक्कामिदिगेज्झं ।
इदि णियमे सचिवकदे चत्ताहारा गया मुणिणो ।।

34. 'Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others'—by Mac Crindle, 1901, p. 45 (quoted by D.R. Mankad, Pauranic Chronology, 1951).

35. Muni Kalyān Vijaya has noted (in his Jain Kālagaṇanā) that in a Ms—*Duḥshimagandikā*, in his possession the following is given :—
"दधिवाहन (नरवाहन ?) राज्य ४० तदा ४१६ तदाच देवपतने चंद्र प्रभजिन भुवनं भविष्यति । अथ गद्दभिल्ल राज्यं ४४ तदनुवर्ष ५० शकवंशाः राजानो जीवदयारता जिनभक्ताश्च भविष्यन्ति ।"
—पृ० ४७७, जैन कालगणना (मुनि कल्याण विजय) ।

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THE DATE OF MAHĀVĪRA

Prof. Upendra Nath Roy

The chronology of ancient India remains disputed to date. The date of the death of MAHĀVĪRA can help in solving problems of chronology but it is also disputed. The date we have got demand adequate analysis and evaluation. The scholars tend to concentrate on part of evidence apparently favourable to their pre-conceived notions and ignore the rest. That is hardly the way to find the truth and resolve a dispute. So we propose to observe and examine the evidence in its different aspects and ignore nothing that is relevant. Omissions are, however, not unexpected but they will show merely the limits of the author's knowledge and not his unwillingness to confront facts.

I. CHANDRAGUPTA AND BHADRABĀHU

The Jaina' tradition mentions a king called CHANDRAGUPTA who got his *dīkṣā* from ĀCHĀRYA BHADRABĀHU, spent his last days at ŚRAVANBELGOLĀ and died the death of Jaina monk. Information about CHANDRAGUPTA and BHADRABĀHU appears relevant to the date of MAHĀVĪRA and therefore deserves discussion.

(i) According to the TILOYAPAṆṆATTĪ, PĀLAKA was coronated in AVANTI the very day MAHĀVĪRA died. The VIJAYA dynasty began 60 years after the event and CHANDRAGUPTA ascended to the throne 155 years later when the VIJAYA dynasty came to an end. The relevant verses (no. 95-96 in the SOLAPUR edition) are :—

जं काले वीरजिणे णिस्सेयस संपयं समावएणो ।
तक्काले अभिविसत्तो पालयणामो अवन्तिसुदो ।।
पालकरज्जं सट्टिं इगिसय पणवएणं विजयसंगवा ।
कालं मरुदयवंसा तीसं वंसातु पुस्समित्तमि ।।

So, it follows that MAHĀVĪRA attained *NIRVĀṆA* 60+155= 215 years before the coronation of Chandragupta.

(ii) According to BHADREŚVARA SŪRI, the Nanda dynasty came to an end 155 A.M. (i.e. 155 years after the death of MAHĀVĪRA) and CHANDRAGUPTA became a king ;

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एवं च महावीरमुत्तिसमयाओ पंचावणवरिससमे पच्छण्णे नंदवंसे चन्द्रगुत्तो राया जाओ ति ।

HEMACHANDRA (1088-1170 A.D.) in his PARIŚIṢṬA-PARVAN opines similarly, NANDA became a king 60 A.M.

अनन्तरं वर्द्धमानस्वामि निर्वाणवत्सरात् ।
गतायां षष्टिवत्सर्यामेष नन्दोऽभवन्नृपः ॥ VI/243,

And CHANDRAGUPTA became a king 155 A.M.

एवं च महावीरमुक्ते वर्षशते गते ।
पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभवन्नृपः ॥ VIII/389.

(iii) The TILOYAPAṆṆATTĪ contains another tradition that says the three KEVALINS called GAUTAM, SUDHARMĀ and JAMBŪSVAMĪ followed MAHĀVĪRA during a period of 62 years and thereafter the combined period of five great men is 100 years. The five great men referred to were NANDI, NANDIMITRA, APARĀJITA, GOVARDHANA and BHADRABĀHU. BHADRA-BĀHU was the guru of CHANDRAGUPTA. So both of them were living 162 A.M. (Vide, verses 66-68 and 71-78 of the old edition).

(iv) According to the ŚVETĀMBARA tradition quoted in 'THE HEART OF JAINISM', the names and duration of the ĀCHĀRYA after MAHĀVĪRA are—INDRABHŪTI 12 years, SUDHARMĀ 12 years, JAMBŪ SVĀMĪ 100 years, PARABHAVA 9 years, SVAYAM-BHAVA and YAŚOBHADRA 74 years, SABHŪTAVIJAYA 2 years and then came BHADRABĀHU. So BHADRABĀHU became ĀCHĀRYA 209 A.M.

(v) MERUTUṄGA in his VICHĀRAŚREṆĪ of V.S. 1363 says :

जं रयणि कालगओ अरिहोतीर्थंकरो महावीर ।
तं रयणि अवन्तिवै अहिसित्तो पालुगो रागा ॥
सट्ठि पालगरण्णो पण्णवण्णासयं तु होइ नन्दाण ।
अट्ठसयं मुरियाणं तीसं पुस्समित्तस्स ॥

King PĀLAKA was coronated at AVANTI the very night MAHĀVĪRA died. PĀLAKA ruled for 60 years, the Nandas 155 years, the Mauryes 108 years and Puśyamitra 30 years.

The first thing remarkable about the tradition is that it does not indicate the dates of birth, coronation and death of Chandragupta in absolute terms. That is true about the dates of birth and death of Bhadrabāhu too. The indication is relative. If we can ascertain the date of Mahāvīra's death, the dates of Bhadrabāhu and Chandra-gupta will be so many years after that. If we can ascertain the dates of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. We shall have to place Mahāvīra's

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death so many years earlier. In order to overcome the uncertainty our historians assume that the Chandrgupta of the Jaina tradition is identical with Chandagupta Maurya who is supposed to be a contemporary of Seleucus. I have shown elsewhere that Chandragupta Maurya was not a contemporary of Seleucus.[1] So we have to examine only if Chandragupta Maurya can be reasonably equated with the ruler mentioned in the Jaina tradition.

We have seen above that Hemachandra, Bhadreśvara Sūri and Merutuṅga etc. are not quite unanimous as to the date of Chandragupta (155 or 215 A.M.), but they seem to agree in linking him with Magadha as the Nandas preceded and Puśyamitra followed the Mauryas in Magadha. But these authors (without a single exception) belong to a much later period. So the tradition that links Bhadrabāhu's disciple Chandragupta is undoubtedly later. It is strange, therefore, that scholars like Jacobi and Charpentier rely solely upon them while discussing the date of Mahāvīra.

The evidence that seeks to link Chandragupta with Magadh is not only late, it is far from conclusive. None of the Sanskrit works available to us says Chandragupta Maurya became a Jaina monk. The Pālaka who became a king the very night Mahāvīra passed away is called 'AVANTISUDO' in the earliest relevant work, *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*. The dynasty that followed Pālaka is called not the Nanda dynasty but the Vijaya dynasty there. None of the Purāṇas assigns more than 136 years to the Nandas while the Vijaya dynasty is said to have ruled for 155 years. The dynasty of Chandragupta reigned for 108 years only according to the Jaina works while the Purāṇas assign 137 years to the Mauryas. Puśyamitra reigned for 30 years only according to the Jaina sources while Puśyamitra and his dynasty reigned for 112 or 120 years in Magadha according to the Purāṇas, Though there was a king called Pālaka in Magadha, he was not a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Pālaka's reign in Magadha was not followed by a new dynasty. The Pradyotas reigned for 138 years and the Śiśunagas for 362 years in Magadha before the Nandas came to power. That happened 477 years after Pālaka in Magadha who belonged to the Pradyota dynasty. So we cannot equate the Pālaka of Magadha with the Pālaka of Avanti, not the Nanda dynasty with the Vijaya dynasty. So the Chandragupta of the Jaina works belongs to Avanti and is different from the Maurya ruler. Names like Pālaka, Chandragupta and Puśyamitra have confused later authors who begin their accounts with Avanti and end there too with Gardabhilla and Vikramāditya but believe some of the ruler belonging to the intervening period reigned in Magadha ! That is hardly sensible.

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Then, while one group of the evidence would place Chandragupta 215 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the other after 155 years only. The two dates are 60 years apart—a big difference. Bhadrabāhu became an Āchārya 162 years A.M. according to some, the other assign 209 A.M. for the event. The difference is 47 years between the two dates—again, a big difference. Nobody has so far cared to explain it. In my humble opinion all the four dates are correct but confusion caused by a long lapse of time, has misplaced them. What we need is to evaluate them and place them properly. Dates of the birth of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta were deemed memorable by the tradition. Next in importance were the dates of Paṭṭābhiṣeka of Bhadrabāhu and Dīkṣa of Chandragupta. So it seems reasonable to hold that Bhadrabāhu was born 162 years after the death of Mahāvīra and became Āchārya 209 years after the death of Mahāvīra. Similarly, we can hold Chandragupta was born 155 A M. and became a Jaina monk 215 A.M. People who linked the figures 155 and 215 with Chandragupta's coronation were mistaken. Renouncing kingdom to become a Jaina monk at the age of 60 is neither unusual nor impossible. Abilities might have made Bhadrabāhu an Āchārya at 47 and there is nothing incredible in it, Moreover, the disciples are not necessarily younger than a guru and a guru at 47 can have disciples of 60 and above.

Before we conclude, we have to observe the following gāthā in the Cylonese Pali work Mahāvaṁśa :—

जिननिव्वाणतो पच्छा पुरे तस्साभिषेकतो ।
साट्ठास्स वस्स सतद्वयं एव विजानियम् ॥ V/21.

It is intended to show there that the interval between the death of Buddha and the coronation of Aśoka was 218 years only. That is disproved by the evidence of the Purāṇas as we are going to see. The word 'Jina' in the gāthā is remarkable, It indicates there was a tradition in India that claimed there was an interval of 218 years between the death of Mahāvīra and coronation of Chandragupta. It had originated out of confusion as 218 A.M. seems to be the date of the death of Chandragupta. The Ceylonese Buddhists picked up the verse from Indian tradition and used it for the purpose mentioned above. That made the confusion worse confounded. The Paṭṭāvalis of the *Kharataragachchha* and *Tapāgachchha* assign about the same date, namely 219 A.M., for the death of Sthūlabhadra and coronation of Chandragupta. That is significant.

II. VIKRAMA AND ŚAKARĀJĀ

The Jaina tradition mentiones Vikrama and Śakarājā and the

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interval between Mahāvīra and them. That seems to offer us a solution as to the date of Mahāvīra. So it is worth while to examine the data in that respect and where it leads to.

(i) According to Himavanta Theravali, Nabhovāhana died in Ujjayini 364 A.M., Gardabhilla became a King 394 A.M. and Vikramāditya became a king 410 A.M. Though not stated in the work, it appears to suggest that Vikram Era began with the demise of Vikramāditya 470 A.M.—a belief shared by several Jain authors.[2] That means Mahāvīra died 527 B.C.

(ii) The Śakas were defeated, Vikramāditya ascended the throne and Vikram Era began 470 years after the death of Mahāvīra according to the Prabandha-Kosa and Vichāra-Śreṇī. That too leads to the same date.

(iii) Vikrma was coronated at the age of 17 according to the 18th gāthā of the Sarasvatigachchha. If he was born 470 A.M. and coronated 487 A.M., Mahāvīra would have passed away 543-544 B.C. That is the view shared by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and R.K. Mukherjee.[3]

(iv) Vikramāditya appeared 466 years after the death of Mahāvīra according to the Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya of Dhanañjaya Sūri. Śilāditya became a king 477 years after the Vikrama Era, says the same work. Historicity of the work is doubted by scholars.

Thus we find that while the Jaina tradition records the interval, 470 years do not mean the same thing to all the works. To some it is the period upto the birth of Vikrama, to others it is the period up to his coronation and to still others, it is the period up to his death. That raises questions about the source of information and its reliability.

Then, there are doubts about the completeness and authenticity of the account of the kings that ruled during the interval, or reasons best known to themselves, Jacobi and Charapentier have focussed their discussion on Merutuṅga. As earlier sources were not unknown to them, that is difficult to explain. Merutuṅga says Pālaka was coronated in Avanti the very night Mahāvīra died. Jacobi and Charpentier have argued to disconnect Merutuṅga's account from Avanti and to establish that Pālaka mentioned by Merutuṅga was none but Rājā Hastipālaka whose Rajjusabhā Mahāvīra was residing in when he passed away at Pāvā. Their arguments are far from sound and I stick to the view that the Pālaka mentioned was none but the son of Pradyota of Avanti. People in the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra knew him well and the tradition is expected to have a sound knowledge about him. There can be, therefore, no doubt

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about his identity and duration of his reign. Given the importance attached to Chandragupta, the old tradition might have cared to know and preserve for posteriority how many years passed between Pālaka and Chandragupta. So the 155 years for the Vijaya dynasty is a figure that cannot be dismissed lightly.

That does not hold good for the latter part of the account. Balamitra, Bhānumitra and Nabhovāhana were hardly the persons the Jaina tradition should have cared to remember. Gardabhilla was villain the tradition could remember. The story of Kalakāchārya links Gardabhilla, Śaka and Vikrama together and makes them worth remembering. But is that a guarantee to the accuracy of the number of the rulers and the figures for their reign too ?

Western scholars seek to lessen the interval between Mahāvīra and Vikrama but it is quite possible that it was longer and the tradition has forgotten it. It is merely a confusion that equates the Vijaya dynasty with the Nandas and calls the following dynasty as Maurya. Reign of the Mauryas and Nandas taken together in the Purāṇa amounts to 273 years whereas the reign of the Vijaya dynasty added to the reign of the Mauryas equals 263 (155+108) years only which is ten years less. We know nothing about other rulers of Avanti. It is useless to comment on the conjectures about Gardabhilla and Saka even when penned by Jarl Charpentier as they contain nothing substantial in them.

That leads to the question when and how the Jaina authors came to know about the political history of Avanti. Jainism, like Buddhism, prevailed mostly in the eastern part of India at first. It spread to the west later. So the Jaina tradition is expected to know little about the western part of India so far as the periods before and after the days of Chandragupta are concerned, though it is expected to know about Pradyota and his son Pālaka who were well known political personalities of the age. We are not sure about the influence Jainism had in Avanti during the centuries that preceded and fallowed Christ immediately. Historicity of Vikramādiiya and his era is also a matter of dispute to date, The view has gained currency that the era was formerly known as Kṛta era, then called Mālava era and finally became associated with Vikramāditya. That demands a lot of explanation and seems to contain simply a half-truth. While the equation of Kṛta era with Mālava is established with the epigraphical evidence it still remains to be demonstrated that Vikram era is identical with the same. As stories about Vikrama had become quite popular by the ninth century, they might have aroused the need to specify the interval between Mahāvīra and Vikramāditya. A structure was somehow

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built at that stage. Needless to say, it could not and did not contain much historical data. Most of it was heresay and fiction. Whenever there is a gap, imagination moves forward to fill in the same Mass psychology seems to be unwilling to leave gaps in information. Even in our own times, the gap is often filled in with gossips and rumours. There is nothing to believe that people behaved otherwise formerly in absence of the mass media.

The Jainas of Mysore believe Mahāvīra died 607 years before Vikrama. That is supposed to be a result of confusing Vikrama era with the Śaka era.[4] Then, the *Trilokasāra* says the Śakarājā was born 605 years and 5 months later than the death of Mahāvīra. That is about two years less than 607. The difference is explained somehow as caused by the modes or calculation. That is not material, What matters really is how Śakarājā came to be confused with Vikrama.

We find the answer in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* :

वीरजिणे सिद्धिगदे चउसयइगिसट्ठि वासपरिमाणे ।
कालम्मि अदिक्कन्ते उप्पण्णो एत्थ सकराओ ।।
अहवा वीरसिद्धे सहस्स णवकम्मि सगसयब्भहिए ।
पणसीदिम्मि यतीदे पणमासे सकणिओ जादो ।।
चोद्दसहस्स सगसयते णवदीवास कालविच्छेदे ।
वीरेसर सिद्धीदो, उप्पण्णो सकणिओ अहवा ।।
निव्वाणे वीरजिणे, छव्वास सदेसु पंचवरिसेसुं ।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं, संजादो सगणिओ अहवा ।।[5]

(Śakarājā was born 461 year afters the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, Or Śakarājā was born 9785 years and 5 months after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Or Śakarāja was born 14793 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. Or Śakarājā was born 605 years and 5 months after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra).

That is the oldest evidence in this respect. The words '*siddhi*' in the first three verses and 'nirvāṇa' in the last one mean the same thing. Even if they were taken to mean different things, that would warrant a difference of not more than three decades. The words '*VĪRA*' and '*VĪRAJINA*' in the verses undoubtedly stand for the same person Mahāvīra. The word '*ahava*' is remarkable. Either the verses refer to four different Śakarājā was disputed even in the 5th century of Christ. When the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* was written. Whatever the alternative we choose, later authors like Hemachandra and Merutuṅga lose the importance given to them by Jacobi and Charpentier.

Two of the figures, namely 14793 years and 9785 years and 5 months are simply beyond our comprehension. Perhaps, they are meant to be prophecies despite the use of past tense. The tradition

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might intend to carry a prophecy that one 'Śakarājā' would be born 9785 years 5 months after the death of Mahāvīra while the other would be born after 14793 years. The figure 605 years 5 months is supposed to be linked with the Śaka era of 78 A.C. But the birth of a Śakarājā in 78 A.C. is not proved by literature and epigraphy. What really happened in 78 A.C. was that Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty killed a Śaka ruler and saved the honour of Dhruvadevi. Soon after the event Ramagupta lost his life as well as the throne and Chandragupta II became king and assumed the title of Vikramāditya. It would be simply absurd to say that he was born in 78 A.C. As for the figure 461 years, there is nothing in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* to warrant linking the 'Sakarājā' either with the Vikram era or with the era of 78 A.C. The *Tiloyayaṇṇattī* does not mention Vikramāditya at all.

'Sakarājā' in fact does not mean a king born in the Saka tribe. It means a king who founded his era. The verses, therefore, refer to four king who founded their era or are expected to do that. Well-known works on Sanskrit grammar use the word *'ŚAKAPĀRTHIVA'* in the same sense. There is nothing to question the statement that a king who founded his era was born 461 A.M. and another of the same kind was born 605 years after the death of Mahāvīra. Though we know nothing about the two kings now, we ought to respect the tradition in absence of anything to disprove it. The two 'Sakarājā' mentioned in the gāthās of *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* were identified with the founders of Vikrama era (57 B.C.) and Saka era (78 A.C.) sometime after the ninth century A.C. Such identification could not be done smoothly. The difference between the two figures 461 and 605 in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* was 144 years while the difference between the two eras was 135 years only. The difficulty was remoyed by replacing 461 with 470 years in later works without bothering to explain and justify the adjustment. That is highly improper and invalidates the conclusions drawn by Hemachandra Sūri and Merutuṅga etc.

III. KALKĪRĀJĀ

The Jaina literature mentions a ruler called *Kalkī* who was hostile to and persecuted Jaina munis. We can see if the references to *Kalkī* are of any use to us. I have come across the following in this respect.

(i) Nemi Chandra in his *Trilokasāra* says Sakarājā was born 605 years 5 months after the death of Mahāvīra and Kalki followed 394 years 7 months after Sakarājā :—

पणछस्सयवस्सं पणमासजुवं गमिय वीर णिव्वुइदो ।
सगराजा ततो कक्की चहुणव तिय महिय सगमासं ॥[6]

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That places *Kalkī* 1000 A.M.

(ii) The *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* says the Gupta dynasty reigned for 231 years. Then it adds :

तत्तो कक्की जादो इन्दपुरे तस्स चउमुहो णामो ।
सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणिय-इगिवीसरज्जं च ॥

(Then *Kalkī* was born in Indrapura. His name was Chaturmukha, he lived for 70 years and his reign lasted 42 years). *Kalkī* was coronated on the expiry of 275 pears of the *Āchārāṅgadharas* :—

आयारांगधरादो पणहत्तरि जुत्त दुसय वासेसुं ।
बोलीणेसुं वद्धो पट्टकविकस्स णदवइणो ॥[7]

(iii) According to the *Titthogalipaṇṇaya* the wicked fellow *Kalkī* was born in the year 1323 of tne Śaka era at Kusumpura :

सगवंसस्स तेरस सयाई तेवीसई होंति तासाइं ।
होही जम्म तस्स उ कुसुमपुरे दुट्ठबुद्धिस्स ॥[8]

(iv) According to the *Dīpālī kalpalatā*, *Kalkī* was born on Chaitra Suklā Aṣṭamī, 1914 years after the death of Mahāvīra :—

यन्निवृत्तेर्गतेष्वब्द शतेष्वेकोनविंशतौ ।
चतुर्दशेषु चाब्देषु चैत्रशुक्लाष्टमीदिने ॥[9]

(v) According to the *Kālasaptaṭīkā*, Kalki who was a enemy of the *Śramaṇas* was born at *Pātālapuri* in a Chaṇḍāla family :

वीरजिणा गुणवीससएहिं पणमास वारवरिसेहिं ।
चण्डालकुले होही पाडलपुरी समण-पटिकूलो ॥[10]

Thus the information about *Kalkī* is far from identical. According to the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, he was born in Indrapura, but the place of his birth is called Kusumapura or *Pātālī* in later works. While Kusumpura and *Pātalī* can be equated with *Pāṭaliputra*, that is not true about Indrapura. The place and caste given do not help us in identifying *Kalkī*. The last two verses quoted above have a difference of two years (1914 and 1912) which is nominal. But when the *Triloksāra* says *Ralkī* was born 1000 A.M,, the *Titthogalipaiṇṇaya* places his birth in the 1323 Saka era. and the other two works say more than 1900 years had passed, the difference is immense.

If the figure 1323 is linked to Saka era of 78 A.C., the date of Kalki's birth will be 1401 A.C. and if Mahāvīra died one thousand years before that, we have to accept 401 A.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death which is absurd. So the *Śaka* era in this context means something different. The oldest work *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* does not mention the interval of one thousand years. Instead, it says Kalki was coronated

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when 275 years of the *Āchārāṅgadharas* had expired. I confess, I am unable to understand what it means as I am not informed enough. But the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* adds that Kalki came after the expiry of 231 years of the Gupta rule. That indicates Kalki was born around 200 A.C. as I believe the reign of the Gupta's began a little before Christ. If one thousand years had passed since the death of Mahāvīra at that time, Mahāvīra would have passed away 800 B.C.

It is not difficult to reconcile the last two references. Both 1912 and 1914 are figures about 605 years more than 1323. It is quite possible that the figure 1323 belongs to the *Śaka* era whose founder was born 605 years after the death of Mahāvīra. Now, however great a king might be, his era can not begin with his birth. Mostly the eras begin with the coronation of a king. So the era of the king who was born 605 years after the death of Mahāvīra is not expected to begin earlier than 18 years later. When 1323 years of that era passed not less than 1323+623=1946 years after the death of Mahāvīra are expected to have expired. Now if the Gupta dynasty had ended by the time and the second century after Christ was passing, the death of Mahāvīra must be dated about 1800 B.C. That is vague and compels us to look elsewhere for a solution.

IV. MAHĀVĪRA : A CONTEMPORARY OF BUDDHA

The clearest and decisive point about the date of Mahāvīra is the fact that the two great men, Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries. To the best of my knowledge and belief Buddha is nowhere mentioned in the Jaina literature but the Pālī canons do mention Mahāvīra as *Niganṭha Nātaputta*. Jacobi, Charpentier and other scholars are at one in holding the view that they were contemporaries, that both the great men propagated their doctrines moving in the same regions, that both had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the views and followers of each other. As nobody disputes these things, we need not discuss and prove these things anew.

Scholars like Jacobi and Charpentier assign 467 .BC. to the death of Mahāvīra and 477 B.C. to the death of Buddha. Mahāvīra was a junior contemporary of Buddha according to them. They have, however, failed to cite even a single evidence from the Buddhist or Jaina literature to substantiate their contention that Mahāvīra survived Buddha by ten years. The Pālī text *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta* says Buddha was living at Samāgama in the country of the Sākyas when he learned that *Niganṭha Nātaputta* had passed away at Pāvā. As the information is brief and non-specific, Mahāvīra might have died months or years before the death of Buddha. But the Pālī text leaves no doubt about it that the death of Mahāvīra must be placed

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before the death of Buddha. Jacobi and Charpentier have decreed the evidence of the Pālī texts as worthless and drawn their conclusions arbitrarily.

To dismiss the evidence of the Pālī text these scholars have found several faults with it. First, they say, the Pālī text mentions Pāvāpurī in the country of the Śākyas as the place where Mahāvīra breathed his last. While as a matter of fact it was a village Pāvā in Magadha. Second, it mentions that "the *nirgranthas* were divided by serious schisms and almost on the point of breaking up the whole community" which is not supported by the Jaina texts. Then they proceed to mention other things which seem to place Mahāvīra's death after that of Buddha. First of these is that the Buddhist texts call the teachings of *Niganṭhanātaputta* as Chāturyāma which is supposed to prove that Buddha was not acquainted with the fifth vow which was added by Mahāvīra later. Secondly, the Buddhist texts mention Bimbisāra and his capital Rājagriha while the Jaina texts mention Ajātaśatru and his capital Champā frequently. Such references undoubtedly are related to the later part of the reign of Ajātaśatru.[11]

None of the arguments leads to the conclusions desired. What someone intends to express is often distorted in transmission. Even nowadays, there are commissions and omissions in the press. Editors and publishers betray the author sometimes. There was some sort of editing and there were commissions and omissions in copying too in earlier times. So the distortions and corruptions in a text do not make it entirely unreliable and such excuse should not be accepted promptly if we really want to arrive at truth. The author of the original Pālī text was undoubtedly aware of the place where Mahāvīra died and in all probability he mentioned it simply as Pāvā. The sutta was preserved orally for centuries and finally when it was committed to writing, someone wanted to add the location and as the man who added it was not well-informed a confusion crept in. That does not invalidate the entire sutta.

I do not remember having come across anywhere in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta* that there was a split in the Jaina Saṁgha after the death of Mahāvīra. If, I am not mistaken, the sutta simply says the disciples of Mahāvīra were very unhappy and felt helpless after the death of the great teacher. Even if there were anything of the type alleged by Charpentier, we could explain it satisfactorily. What happened in other communities of monks after the death of their teachers might have been added there too by mistake. That was not impossible as the Buddhist texts were preserved orally for a long

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time and used identical words, phrases and sentences to describe similar incidents for convenience of memorising. When repetition of the kind are frequent, some commissions are not unlikely. But how can such commissions invalidate the statement that Mahāvīra died before Buddha ? Location of Pāvā is a matter of detail while the statement about the priority of Mahāvīra's death is a general fact. The witness who errs about the detail is not necessarily mistaken when he states a general truth. For example, if a person fails to tell us where Porabandara is or gives incorrect information about its locotion, we cannot reject on that ground his statement that M.K. Gandhi was born at Porabandara.

Dharmānanda Kosāmbī in his Marāthi work 'Pārśvanātha Chāturyāma Dharma' has shown well that teachings of Mahāvīra do not differ basically from those of Pārśvanātha. The fifth vow of Mahāvīra was implied in the Chāturyāma and Mahāvīra added it simply to remove certain ambiguities and confussions. As Buddha did not find any basic difference in the teachings of the two, he used the popular word 'Chāturyāma' for the teachings of Mahāvīra too. Even if we take for granted that Buddha died a decade earlier, his teachings were not collected and committed to writing immediately. Both the Jainas and the Buddhists propagated their doctrines in the same region side by side for a long time. It is hardly conceivable then that the Buddhists did not learn about the innovation introduced by Mahāvīra. So ignorance on the part of the Buddhists cannot explain the use of the word 'Chāturyāma'.

That the Buddhist texts mention Bimbisāra and Rājagriha while the Jaina texts mention Ajātaśatru and Champā is like wise of no significance in this respect. Such matters depend upon taste and relevance. The Buddhists had better relations with Bimbisāra and it was but natural for them to refer to him and his capital frequently. Ajātaśatru and his capital are mentioned frequently in the Jaina texts for a similar reason. The death of the either of the two great teachers cannot be placed earlier or later on such grounds. An example from our own times will suffice to show how mistaken Jacobi and Charpentier are. Syāmnārāyana Pādeya wrote his "*Haldī Ghātī*" about Rānā Pratāpa while Jadunāth Sarkār wrote about Aurangazeb and his successors. Is that enough to prove that the former died earlier than the latter ?

Then, the date of Buddha's death is not a matter beyond dispute either. A list of 48 dates suggested by different scholars is available and the dates range from 369 B.C. to 2422 B.C.[12] The list evidently omits some of the dates known to us. For example, 477 B.C., the

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date accepted by Cunningham, Max Muller and Charpentier is missing in the list. So a complete list would consist of 50 to 60 dates. It does not mean that we cannot ascertain the dates of the two great men. The situation is not as hopeless as the prejudices and obsessions of the western scholars have made it. Their basic error is to ignore the evidence that is nearest in point of time and place and to attach utmost importance to what is farthest. Secondly, some equation based on insufficient gounds are accepted as axioms. Thirdly, different Buddhist countries linked different dates with the death of Buddha which complicates the matter even more.

Was the Buddhist order really aware of the date of Buddha's death in its early days ? The answer should be in the affirmative as Buddha died before the eyes of the order. But was the knowledge handed over to the tradition carefully ? The answer must be negative. Were the tradition sure about it, there would not have been different dates in different countries nor several dates in the same country. So we have to conclude that the date of Buddha's death was calculated separately at a much later stage. What the calculations were based on is a matter that demands further investigation. Few scholars have cared to explain the difference. Dr. D. S. Triveda thinks the date when Buddhism was introduced in a country for the first time came to be regarded as the date of Buddha's death in that country erroneously. The historians of the future can use that as a good starting point for their research. The other possibility is that the very date when a Buddhist sect came into being was accepted by it as the date of Buddha's death in course of time due to confusion.

When the Buddhists all over the world celebrated 2500 years of Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, the Cylonese Tradition was granted the place of honour. Buddha died 543-544 B.C. according to that tradition. That is a later fabrication adopted by the Ceylonese chroniclers, claim the western scholars and their disciples. But there is epigraphic evidence to show that the date was accepted as such as early as 396 B.C.[13] Under the circumstances, we should have accepted it but for two reasons. First, the date does not tally with the evidence of the Purāṇas. Secondly, an era starting with the same date is called "*Puttasakarāta Saṁvatsara*" and "*Devaputra Śaka Samvatsara*" in Siam (Thailand) and linked with some king.[14] There were several eras founded by different kings in ancient times and they were all known as "śaka" or śāka". As the words Śaka, Śāka, Śākya and Śākyamuni are so close it seems quite possible that the era of 543-544 B.C. and several other "śakas" came to be linked erroneously with the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha.

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According to the fashion of last two centuries, the entire chronology of Indian history is based on the assumed date of Chandragupta Maurya and the dates of Buddha and Mahāvīra are no exceptions to it. Jarl Charpentier declares bluntly : "The real chronology of India begins with Chandragupta after the invasion of Alexander."[15] But "the date of Chandragupta's accession or *abhiṣeka* is by no means fixed, varying between 325 and 312 B.C. according to different authorities." So utmost emphasis is laid on the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka which is supposed to mention certain foreign rulers, namely, Amtiyoka, Turamaya, Amtikina, Maka and Alikasundara. Lassen identifies them with Antichoes II Theos king of Syria (261-246 B.C.) Ptolemaios II of Egypt (d. 247 B.C), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (d. 239 B.C.), Magas of Cyrena (d. 258 B.C.), and Alexander of Epirus (d. probably 258 B.C). As the Rock Edict was published in the thirteenth year of his coronation, that year cannot fall earlier than the accession of Antiochos Theos 261 B.C. and later than the death of Magas 258 B.C. So the year of coronation must have been 272-270 B.C. If Buddha died 218 years earlier as the Ceylonese sources contend, the date must have been 480-488 B.C. But Charpentier believes 218 years refer to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism and only 209 years had passed since the death of Aśoka's coronation. Thus he arrives at the date of 477 B.C. for the death of Buddha. While differing a little in details and conclusions, most of the hisiorians follow the same methodology.

The grand structure of Indian coronology created thus though generally accepted is based on quick sand. Charpentier was conscious of the fact that Xandrames or Agrammes mentioned by odorus and Curtius was the king who preceded Sandracottus and the name Xandrames seemed to contain a Chandra in it and there was "no such name amongst the Nandas".[16] But he did not care to pursue the matter further. He ended by following the beated track and identifying Xandrames with the last ruler of the Nanda dynasty and Sandracottus with Chandragupta Maurya. But we know now that Xandrames did not belong to the Nanda dynasty and Sandracottus was not identical with Chandragupta Maurya. Not only that, they were not the rulers of Magadh at all.[17] So we cannot place Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B C. Nor does it seem credible that Aśoka named five foreign rulers in his inscription. Phonetically 'Amṭikini' cannot be identified with Antigonus at least. It is inexplicable why Aśoka used the names of five foreign rulers in his thirteenth Rock Edict while using the names of kingdoms only in

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other cases. Dr. D.S. Triveda has a strong case when he argues that Aśoka's inscriptions name territories only and do not contain names of any kings [18] It is remarkable here that the western sources have cared to mention the missions sent by even the most petty rulers of India. Sometimes dubious persons are represented as the embassy of some Indian ruler to glorify western rulers. The mission to Augustus, for example, belongs to that dubious category.[19] So had Aśoka sent his messengers to those foreign rulers in fact, they must have felt honoured and their chroniclers could not fail to narrate with relish. As for the figure 218 years, it is misplaced from Jaina tradition and even Charpenlier does not believe that it represents the interval between the death of Buddha and coronation of Aśoka.

So the Purāṇas offer us the safest and surest ground for the Chronology of ancient India. We find the following clues for the Chronology in the Purāṇas :

(i) One cycle of the *Saptarṣis* ended since the reign of *Pratīpa* of the Kuru dynasty to the end of the Āndhra dynasty. That means 2707 years 6 months passed during the period.

(ii) 1500 years passed since the birth of *Parīkṣita* to the coronation of *Mahāpadma.*

(iii) 836 years passed from the coronation of *Mahāpadma* Nanda to the end of the Āndhra dynasty.

(iv) Parikṣita was born a few months after the Mahābhārata war and coronated at the age of 36 years. His accession marked the beginning of the Kali-age.

(v) The Saptarṣis were staying in the *Maghā* during the reign of *Parīkṣita.* The Kali-age was extended after the reign of the Nanda dynasty and the Saptarṣis moved to *Pūrvāṣāḍha.* The Saptarṣis were staying in the 24th nakṣatra (i.e. from Maghā) at the end of the Āndhra dynasry.

Then the Purāṇas mention the duration of the reign of various dynasties, The unanimous and therefore reliable testimony of the Buddhist texts is that Buddha died during the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign. The Tibetan sources add that 500 years of the rise of Buddhism had expired during the reign of Puśyamitra and 500 years of the decline of Buddhism began with the atrocities of of Puśyamitra. As Puśyamitra died five years after the atrocities, 505 years since the death of Buddha must have passed by the time.[20] We can find out the dates of Buddha and Mahāvīra with the help of these pieces of information.

Parikṣita was born 36 years before the Kali-age, i.e., 3137 B.C.

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Mahāpadma Nanda was coronated 1500 years later, 1637 B.C. The Nandas ruled not less than 136 years.[21] So Chandragupta Maurya became a king 1501 B.C. Puśyamitra, who became a king 137 later, was therefore coronated 1364 B.C. As he reigned for 60 years, he died 1304 B.C. As Buddha died 505 years earlier, he must have died 1304+505=1809 B.C.

The contention that Aśoka was coronated 218 years after the death of Buddha or even less than that is based on prejudices and obsessions. For example, Charpentier argues "that names like Mahānandin and Nandīvardhan have nothing in common with the Śaiśunāgas but look suspiciously like Nanda" and deems that enough "to draw the conclusion that Mahānandin and Nandīvardhana originally represented the two generations of the Nandas, reigning 85 years" and "that the 100 years attributed to the Nandas is an interpolation based on oblivion and misunderstanding of the real facts."[22] I am afraid such a logic can make Nanda and Yaśodā in separable from the Nanda dynasty and turn Kṛṣṇa into a contemporary of the Nandas ! I wonder what is specific or exclusive about the names belonging to different dynasties and why certain names must be struck off as uncommon despite the testimony of the Purāṇas to the contrary. Charpentier and his followers do not care to explain it.

The Purāṇas assign 137 years to the Mauryas and 136 years to the Nandas before them. According to the texts edited by Pargiter, the Śiśunāga dynasty ruled for 362 years. However, the figures given for individual reign total 346 years only as evident from the following :—

1.	ŚIŚUNĀGA	40 years
2.	KĀKAVARṆA	36 "
3.	KṢEMADHARMĀ	36 "
4.	KṢATRAUJĀ	40 "
5.	BIMBISĀRA	28 "
6.	AJĀTAŚATRU	25 "
7.	DARŚAKA	25 "
8.	UDAYĪ	33 "
9.	NANDĪVARDHANA	40 "
10.	MĀHĀNANDI	43 "
		346 years

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The kings belonging to the dynasty ruled as following to the death of Buddha :—

1.	ŚIṢUNĀGA	40 years
2.	KĀKAVARṆA	36 ,,
3.	KṢEMADHARMĀ	36 ,,
4.	KṢATRAUJĀ	40 ,,
5.	BIMBISĀRĀ	28 ,,
6.	AJĀTASATRU	08 "
		188 years

In the present state of our knowledge, we can not explain the discrepancy of 16 years but when the Purāṇas are unanimous in assigning 362 years to the dynasty, we have to believe them. Subtracting 188 from 362, we get 174 years. That is how long the *Śiśunāgas* rules after the death of Buddha. Then came 136 year long reign of the Nandas. So Chandragupta Maurya was coronated 174+136=310 years after the death of Buddha. Aśoka was coronated 53 years later. Therefore Aśoka was coronated 310+53=363 years after the death of Buddha.

The Pālī texts are not equivocal about it that Mahāvīra passed away before Buddha. The Jain sources do not mention Buddha and yet their testimony confirms it. According to the research of Āchārya Vijayendra Sūri, Mahāvīra passed 30 Rainy-seasons at different places after his attainment of omniscience.

The last two of them were passed at Rājagṛha and Pāvā, Buddha, according to the *Aṅguttaranikāya—Aṭṭhakathā* passed 46 Rainy-seasons at different places after enlightenment. We are also informed by the *Sāmmaṇṇyaphala Sutta* of *Dīghanikāya* that Ajātaśatru called upon Buddha and there after Mahāvīra. So the 29th and 30th Rainy-seasons of Mahāvīra synchronise with the 20th and 21st rainy-seasons of Buddha. Buddha, therefore, survived Mahāvīra by 46—21=25 years.[23] The date of Mahāvīra's death is, therefore, 1809+25=1834 B.C. He had a life-span of 72 years. So he was born 1834+72=1906 B.C. Buddha, who had a life-span of 80 years, was born 1809+80=1889 B.C. That is, Buddha was junior to Mahāvīra by 17 years in point of age. ●

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DATE OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA RECONSIDERED

Dr.G. V. TAGARE

When we were school-boys in early 1920s, we were taught the fiction of the Āryan invasion of India as "History". To impress the comparative modernity of Indian culture, we were told that the Bactrian ambassador Magathenes (M) was at the court of Candragupta Maurya (CM). It did serve the imperial objective of a foreign ruler to instil in us a sense of inferiority viz. We are by nature a submissive race conquerred by every foreign aggressor since times immemorial and that our civilization is not very old as claimed by our records. Thus we were told that Lord Mahāvīra and the Buddha belonged to the 6th Cent. B. C.

It is, however, our misfortune that even 40 years after political independence, the same myths are taught as "History" to our grand-children and text books still repeat the imperialistic rot.

The fact of the matter is that if M. is to be believed as per his records, he was not the contemporary of CM. *Indikā* the original work of M. is not now extant. But Long extracts quoted by pliny, Solinus (52 5), Arrian (*Indikā* I. IX) unanimously state that there were 153 kings between Dionysus, the first invader of India and Alexader the Great, and that the period between the two kings was 6451 years and 5 months. As is welknown M. was accredited to the court of pāṭliputra (Mod. Patnā). His informants were naturally the Brāhmins who relied on their own records about the number of ruling dynasties at Pāṭaliputra and the total number of yeares of their dynastic rules.

Now in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Va. P.) II. 1, 135 ff, it is stated that Pṛthu, the son of Vena, was annointed by gods (Devas) as the FIRST KING (*Ādirājā*). He levelled the earth, encouraged agriculture, cattle-breeding, Commerce and building cities and villages. A reference to the dynasties of kings (*Vaṁśānucarita*) as recorded in the *Vā. P.* and other Purāṇas shows that the number of kings between Pṛthu and Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty (and not Cm.) is 153. (The number 154 in some Purāṇas can be explained as Bhāradvāja whom Bharata adopted, was never crowned but it was his son Vitatha who was crowned and the discrepancy between 153 and 154 as given in some Purāṇas is explained.) The number of years between Pṛthu

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and Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty is 6451 years—the same as recorded by M. in *Indikā*. The *Vā. P.* is one of the most authoritative oldest Purāṇas. This information in the *Vā. P.* is supported by the *Brahamāṇaḍa* and other Purāṇas.

Thus the exact correspondence between the number of kings and the period between the 1st king and Alexander the Great as given by M. in *Indikā* and *Vā. P.* shows the need to reconsider the time-frame on which our history books are written.

From our above evidence, we shall have to locate Lord Mahāvīra in the 1200 B.C. at least.

Two Letters

(1)

Dear Dr. Solanki,

I thank you sincerely for your kind letter No. 2104/92-93 dated 26-9-92 regarding an article on the Last days of Lord Mahāvīra for the ensuing issue of TULSI PRAJÑĀ. Although I have not received the No. of TULSI PRAJÑĀ in which my review article is published I thank you for the same.

The determination of the time and place of the *Nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra is very important as two distant places claim the honour for it. I am not well for some days but when I feel better shall include whatever material is available in the *Vāyupurāṇa* about Him. As you might be knowing it, Brāhmaṇical Purāṇas contain some secondhand or thirdhand oral information about Buddhism and Jainism and in my notes on the translation of Purāṇas, I have to record the correct information from Pālī and Amg. works.

I am glad to find that you contribute a thoroughly research chapter in every issue of the TULSI PRAJÑĀ. I hope you will publish them in a book form for the use of future researchers.

(2)

Dear Dr. Solanki,

Kindly refer to your letter No. 2104/92-93 dated 26-9-92 in which you requested me to write on Lord Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa on the basis of the Purāṇa.

As you might be knowing, I am the (English) translator of Vāyu Purāṇa. My translation is published in two volumes by Motilal Banarsi Dass of Delhi. After getting your letter, I again peeped through the Sk. Text of the Purāṇa.

There is no mention of Mahāvīra. Two persons from Jain Mythology are named : *King Nābhi* and *Ṛṣabha*. No sermon on any Jain

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doctrine is there except a few strong remarks. I have published them in the Introduction to my translation of the Vāyu Purāṇa.

As there is no material on Lord Mahāvīra I am sorry, I cannot contribute on the topic of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.

Kindly send me the issue when published as I am keenly interested in the topic.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Bhagwan Usabha

"*Usabha* reigned for countless number of years, and then retired in favour of *Bharata*, who was declared as the first universal monach of *Vinītā*. After taking to the ascetic life, for a little over than a year, he went about with clothes and then discarded them altogether. *Usabha* is said to have travelled through a number of places such as the countries of *Bahali*, *Aḍamba* and *Iliā* and reached the city of *Hatthināpura*. Here he was offered sugarcane by *Sejjaṁsa*, the grandson of *Bāhubali*.

Usabha attained omniscience in *Purimatālā* in the garden called *Sagaḍamuha*. He attained salvation at the mountain *Aṭṭāvaya* where shrines were built in his honour."

—Kalpa, 7.205-28; Jambu, 2.30-33; Āva. Nir., 150 ff. VH, PP. 157-65 & Āva. Cū, PP. 135-83.

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SUMMARY OF THE TWO PAPERS

(1) On the basic blunder in the reconstrution of Indian Chronology by orientalists or the Greek Synchronisms Reviewed.

Introductory—The great and good work done by western orientalists and their Indian followers since the time of Sir William Jones. The difficulties of earlier orientalists. Europeans public opinion against assigning any great antiquity to India beyond that of Greece. Hopeless exaggeration, to the European mind, of Indian traditions. The *Purāṇa*s thus totally ignored by earlier orientalists. Lack of indigenous historical materials assumed by them and explained away by reference to the supposed philosophic indifference of the Hindus to mundane affairs. The attempts made "to reduce to proper limits" the *Purāṇ*ic accounts. The work, however, marred by serious limitations of the investigators, by complexity of subject-matter, and by defective methods of investigation arising from racial prejudices and prepossessions, superficial knowledge, undue-disregard of tradition recorded in native literature, reckless distortion of original texts, and over-whelming self-confidence. The most typical instance furnished by the false synchronism of Alexander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya which has been called and made the Sheet-Anchor of Indian Coronology.

Origin and application of the hypothesis—Sir William Jones vaguely started the theory in 1793. Colone Witford and prof. Lassen put it on firmer basis. Prof. Max Muller's staunch support—plausibility of the theory. The familiarity of the Europeans with Greek and Roman accounts of India. Sandracottos of the Greeks undeniably contemporaneous with Alexander the Great and Seluecus Nikator. identifieation of Sandracottos with chandragupta. Chandragupta assumed to be the Maurya, who was the only Chandragupta known to the earlier orientalists. The theory welcomed as furnishing one certain starting-point in investigating a huge field of uncertainties. The bypothesis by sheer repetition now passed off as a proved fact "no longer open to doubt". Reconstrution of Indian Chronology by counting backward and forwards and applying averages and approximations, all starting from the "fixed point" of 322 B.C., to eg, the Śaiśunāga and Nanda pre—Maurya dynasties, and the Śuṅga, Kaṇva, Āndhra and Gupta post-Maurya dynasties.

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Point in favour of the hypothesis--Sandracottos undeniably contemporaneous with Alexander and Seleucus Nikator as Magasthenes was the latter's Ambassador at the Court of Sandracottos described as ruler of the Praisii or Kingdom east of the Indus, with capital at Palibothra edentical with Pāṭalīputra. His predecessor he overthrew was Xandramus or Andramus or Aggraman, reported to be of low origin and un-popular with his people. These details would apply to Chandragupta Maurya who overthrew the Nandas, the first of whom Mahāpadma Nanda was of low origin being the son of a Śūdra woman. This first or major Greek synchronism supported by the second or minor Greek synchronism, afterwards discovered, of Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta Maurya and Antiochus Teos, grandson of Seleucus Nikator as recorded in the edicts of King Priyadarśin who in Buddhist record is identical with Aśoka Maurya. The theory as assumed by Vincent smith gives the most satisfactory basis for fixing the date of Buddha also (as lying between 570 and 480 B. C.)

Arguments against the hypothesis—Re-examination of the details supplied by the Greeks. Xandramus or Andramus cannot be identical with Nanda, if Nanda were the reigning King of the Praisii at the time of Alexander's invasion. Xandramus only a Greek corruption of Candramus or King Chandra. Sandracottos or Sandrocyptos who visited Alexander during the raign of Xandramus and who later overthrew Xandramus must be some other than chandra or Chandragupta. The impossibility of making all the details given of Xandramus and Sandracottos refer to one and the same person. The Greek Sandracottos a great emperor who owed his elevation entirely to his own prodigious powers. The Chandragupta Maurya both of the Hindus and the Buddhists a mere puppet in the hands of the wily Cāṇakya who elevated Chandragupta to the throne solely to revenge himself on the Nandas. The consensus of authority of the Purāṇas, of *Kathāsaritasāgara* and *Mudrārakshasa* and of the *Dīpavaṁśa* and *Mahāvaṃśa* on the point. The dates assigned to Buddha by orientalists quite conventional. The comparatively meagre value of the second Greek synchronism, as grandsons of two contemporaries must necessarily be contemporaries also. The assumption involved that priyadarśin of the Edicts is identical with Aśokavardhana. This identification entirely based on Buddhist records which, however, are rejected by all later orientalists as being historically untrustworthy.

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The new or suggested hypothesis—The contemporary references of the Greeks would fit in more aptly if applied to Chandragupta and Samudragupta of the early Gupta dynasty. Chandragupta and his father Ghaṭotkacha both Āndhra bhṛtyas being only officers in the army of the Āndhra Kings—Unpopularity of Chandragupta who overthrew the Ānddhras—His prodigious powers. The dates of the reigns of Chandragupta and Samudragupta according to the purāṇas, are B. C. 328 to 321 to 270—Alexander's invasion 324—Megasthenes ambassador 302—Samudragupta a great conqueror called by Vincent Smith "The Indian Napoleon" bore also the title of Aśokāditya or Mohāśoka. His conquests recorded by Hariseṇa and inscribed on Priyadaraśin's pillar at Allahabad, who was Priyadarśin, the Great Buddhist Emperor? Three Kings called Aśoka-Dharmāśoka of Kasmir, Aśokavardhana Maurya and Aśokāditya Gupta—all three in all probability Buddhists. Samudragupta Aśokāditya's relations with the kings of Ceylon and Assyria. Vasubandhu, the Great Buddhist teacher and writer, patronised by Chandragupta and Samudragupta. Internal evidence from the Purāṇas most of which make the scantiest reference to the Gupta Emperors but put the Āndhrabhṛtyas, Ābhīras, and Hūṇas all together. The absence of any reference to the edicts of Aśoka Maurya by Chinese pilgrims esp. Hiuen Thsang. The confusion in the Ceylonese Buddhist records between the three Aśokas and the transference of the deeds of all three to one, Aśoka Maurya—Chandragupta and Samudragupta, however, not khown to earlier orientalists.

Comparative merits of the two hypotheses—The earlier theory placing Chandragupta Maurya in 320 B. C. originated by orientalists whose knowledge was very imperfect and superficial, and maintained by later orientalists only by pulling down and upsetting all Hindu and Buddhist records and traditions. The earlier orientalists lived in times when European conception of the ancient history of no nation other than the Jews extended beyond B. C. 500 or 600. Since then the discovery of the ancient histories of Egypt, Babylon, Persia and China have carried the world's ascertainable history far back of B. C. 2000 to 3000. The overwhelming evidence in favour of holding India to be no less older than Egypt and China. Indian Chronology as reconstructed by western orientalists on the basis of the synchronism of Alaxander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya entirely conventional and opposed to all Hindu and Buddhist records. The interpretation of archaeological remains adduced in support, is no

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less conventional and is vitiated by a very imperfect understanding of Indian eras used in inscription whether monumental or numismatic. The subject dealt with in great detail by the late F.B. Nārāyana Shastri, B. A. L. L. B., of Madras in his "Mistaken Greek synchronism" originally issued as an appendix to his "Age of Śaṅkara." The suggested hypothesis of synchronising Alexander with Chandragupta would furnish a far more satisfactory basis for calculation. The dates of Buddha, of Mahāvīra, of the Mahābhārata War etc. on the new hypothesis will be in consonance both with old Hindu and Buddhist records and with later researches correctly interpreted.

Conclusion—Reconstruction of our past history on the new hypothesis will of course create big gaps especially after the Gupta period which cannot be filled up without colossal labour. Our archaeological records will have to be revised and interpreted. The difficulties of the task before the Indian Orientalists. The opposition likely to come from the "prestige" of western Orientalists. The need to overcome these difficulties in the interests of truth. Correct principles of investigation and criticism. The office of the Historian.

(2)

ON THE DATE OF CORONATION OF MAHĀPADMA

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas towards the close of their dynastic account of the Kali-age, assert that the account has been carried down to the 836th year, after Mahāpadma. As the preceding verse counts back from the coronation of Mahāpadma, the expression 'after Mahāpadma' should be understood to mean 'after Mahāpadma's Coronation' which is obviously takes here as the pivot of reckoning.

To determine a precise date for this event is the object of this paper. The approximate date has long been known. It must fall about the 4th or 5th century B. C. since the Greek notices conclusively prove that the Maurya dynasty which supplanted Mahāpadma's dynasty after the latter had ruled for 40 or 100 years, had already been established before 300 B. C. and Aśoka Maurya speaks, in an inscription, of *Magas* who ruled in Cyrene c, 300 B. C.—C. 250 B. C. The 836th year after Mahāpadma, the last definite date given in the Purāṇas, thus falls about the 5th century A. D.

It is not likely that Indian historians of such a late period failed to recognise the necessity for the use of an era in order to make their dynastic account chronologically intelligible. Several eras were in

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existence at the period. But most of them were regnal reckoning of particular monarchs and the adoption of any one of these reckonings may have been thought to betray a political bias not worthy of an impartial historian But there was one era not open to objection, namely the *Laukika* or *Saptarśi* era. This era has been used by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇi* in preference to the Śake era in recording the dates of Kashmir kings. It would appear that this custom was already quite archic in Kalhaṇa's time, and may well have existed at the time the earliest Purāṇas received their present form. The *Laukika* era was eminently suitable for employmet in *Paurāṇic* Chronology; for it is *Laukika* i. e. 'popular' and the Purāṇas are popular histories. Another name for this era is *Śāstra Samvat*, and what Śāstras, if not the Purāṇas, could imperatively require the use of an era ? The Paurāṇic account actually gives an exposition of the *Saptarśi* reckoning just after mentioning the period between Mahāpadma's coronation and the last difinite date to which the dynastic account has been brought down. It is difficult to avoid concluding that the *Saptarśi* or *Laukika* reckoning has been availed of here; in other words, the 836th year after Mahāpadma's coronation is nothing but the last year of a *Saptarśi* century.

This century must correspond to the year 324-424 A. D. for no other century preserves the *Graeco*-Indian synceronisms alluded to above. Mahāpadma's coronation thus falls about the year 413 B. C. (413 B. C.-424 A. D.=836 years.).

The same conclusion follows from other and independent considerations. The dynastic account is claimed to have confined itself to the enumeration of the kings of the Kali-Age. The 836th year after Mahāpadma must therefore have been considered to mark the end of Kali-Age.

Now, the Purāṇas also assert that the beginning of the *Tretā* Age is to be identified with the starting-point of history. True, they assume several *manvantāras*, each *manvantara* consisting of several *caturyugas*, and each *caturyuga*, consisting of four *yugas* calculated according to the *divya* reckoning which concieves of a single year as containing 360 human or ordinary years. But the *Manvantaras* before the *Vaivasvata* period have no relation to history proper as proved by the occurence, in Matsya, of the word *bhuvi* in connexion only with the sons of *Vaivasvata Manu*, as also by the explicit statement in Vāyu that corn cultivation, preservation of cattle, etc., first became possible in the *Vaivasvata* period. Further, the *divya* mode of reckoning is conventional as attested by the use of such expressions as

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Sañjnita, āhurmanīṣīṇaḥ and by the existence of an account of Yuga periods without reference to the *divya* reckoning in ch. 32 of Vāyu. The first 27 *caturyugas* of the *Vaivasvata* period are likewise conventional since the *Purāṇas* ascribe a cyclic character to the historical events they enumerate. The *Tretāyuga*, therefore, which is taken in the *Purāṇas* to mark the beginning of orthodox *caturyuga* of the *Vaivasvata manvantara*, and the *divya* calculation need not be considered in judging the historical period, The period between the starting-point and the end of the Kali-Age is thus one of (3600+2400+1200 or) 7200 years.

In the days of Magasthenes, the Hindus reckoned the starting-point of their history to have been 6451 years and three months before Alexander, that is, about 6777 B. C. As this reckoning was based upon the reign-periods of kings and was associated with legends concerning Spatembas (*Svayambhūva*) and Bondays (Buddha), the stand-point must have been that of the Purāṇas. The date 6777 B. C. should consequently be identified with the beginning of the *Tretāyuga* of the Purāṇas, with the result that the end of the Kaliyuga falls in 424 A. D. (6777 B, C.—424 A. D.=7200 years) and the coronation of Mahāpadma is assigned to 413 B. C. being 836 years prior to the end of Kali, According to this view of the chronology, the yuga periods are—

Tretā—6777 B.C—3177 B. C.
Dvāpara—3177 B. C—777 B. C.
Kali—777 B. C.—424 A.C,

We can put this chornology to some rough tests.

—(Adopted from the Report of the first Oriental Conference, Poona, Published in Sanskrita Bharati Supplement, Vol. 2 No. IV pp. 119-122—October-December, 1919.)

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THE DATE OF MAHĀVĪRA'S NIRVĀṆA, AS DETERMINED IN ŚAKA 1175.

□ *K. B. Pathak*

The Jains of Maisur place the date of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra 607 years before the era of Vikrama. The editor (of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. II Page 140) suggests, however, that this is a mistake for the Śaka era. And I propose to show now that, with the difference of 605 for 607 years, this suggestion contains the correct truth, and that the resulting date of B. C. 527 is the one given in the Jaina books of these parts for the event in question.

The mistake arose in the misinterpretation, by the native commentator, of a well-known passage in the *Trilokasāra*, which says:—

'पणछसयवस पणमासजुदं गमिय वीर णिवुइदो सगराजो'

"Six-hundred and five years, jointed to five months, having passed away since the *nirvāṇa* of Vīra, the Śaka king (was born)".

This is the literal rendering of the text as written by Nemichandra. But the commentator, Mādhavachandra, takes the expression Sagarajo in the sense of Vikarmāṅka-Śakarājā. In the text itself there is nothing to warrant this view. And the misinterpretation, which has puzzled many oriental scholars, is not countenanced by the numerous Canarese commentaries on the *Trilokasāra*, which are found in the Jaina bastis. I shall trascribe below a passage from a work on *Śrāvakāchāra*, or the conduct of the laity, which calculates Vīra's *nirvāṇa* according to the Śake era, and enables us to arrive at 527 B. C. as the date of that event. This exactly concides with the view of the *Śvetāmbaras* of the north, who place the event 470 years before Vikrama.

Like the Jainemdram, the *Trilokasāra* is regarded as an autority by the Digambaras of Delhi and Jaipur, although Nemichndra flourished in Southern India 200 years later than the illustrous *Pūjyapāda*.

In the passage in question we are told that 1180 years from *Vīra* had elapsed when this work on *Śrāvakāchāra* was established for worship, on the fifth day called the *Śruta-pañchmi*, in the bright half of Jyeshṭha, in the Paridhavī *samvatsara*. And we read further on that

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the Śaka king was born 605 years after Vira. Now, deducting 605 from 1780, we get 1175. And the auther says expressly that the year in which his work was worshipped was the Paridhavī samvatsara. By the Tables in Brown's Carnatic Chronology, the Paridhavi samvatsara fell in Śaka 1174. And Mr. Fleet, in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 69, has quoted an inscription in which the *Paridhavī samvatsara* is allotted to Śaka 1175, for 1174, according to Brown. Hence it is evident that 1780 years since *Vīra's nirvaṇa* had passed away in Śaka 1175, the Paridhavī samvatsara. Consequently, the "ornament of the Nāthakula" attained *mokṣha* 605 years before the Ṣaka era. The *Śvetāmbaras* place this event 470 year before the era of Vikrama. And the difference between the two eras is 135 years. And

470+135=605 (before the Saka era)
605— 78=527 B. C.
470+ 57=527 B. C.

I have omitted the fractions, as they do not affect my general conclusions. I have thus proved that the Digambaras of the Karnātaka are perfectly at one with the *Śvetāmbaras* on this important point.

I must say just a word in regard to the *Śrāvakāchāra*. It is called *Maghanandī-Śrāvaka chāra*, because Maghanandī wrote the first chapter. The remaining chapters, however, were composed by different authors whose names are mentioned. At the beginning of the fifth chapter, Maghanandī himself is thus praised :—

नमो नम्रजनानंदस्यदिने माघणं दिने।
जगत्प्रसिद्ध सिद्धांतवेदिने चित्प्रमोदिने॥

But the question of the authorship of the Śrāvakāchāra has no bearing whatever on the date of Mahāvīra himself.

Transcription

Mattam I Vardhamana--tirthakara-kaladolu Gautama-Sudharma- Jaṁbunathar=emb=ivar=anubaddha-kevaligala kalam। aruvatt-eradu varsham॥ 62॥ Namdi-Nandimitra-Aparajita-Govardhana. Bhadrabahugal=emb=ayvaru। sruta-kevaligala kalam nura varsham॥ 100॥ Mattam Visakhanum। Proshthilanum। Kashatriyanum। Jayanum। Naganum। Siddharthanum। Dhritishenanum। Vijayanum। Buddhilanum। Gamgadevanum। Sudharmanm=emba dasa—purva-dhararaikadasara kalam। nur-emdhatta-mura varsham=akkum। Mattam Nakshatranum। Jayapalanum। Pamduvum। Drumasenanum। Kusum-bacharyanum

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=emd=ekadas-amga-dhara-pamchakara kala-prananam=imnurip-pattu varisam । 220 । Mattam=i-tirthakara-samtanadoḷu Subhad-ranum । Yesobhadranum । Yasobahuvum । Lahabha-namanum= emb=acharamga (dhara) chatushtayadakalam । nure-hadinemtu varisam । 118 । Imt=i Gautam-adigala kalam=ellam kudi । aru nur-embhatta-muru varisam=akkum । Mattam=achar-amgadharim balikka sasirada tombhatt-elaney Paridhavi sam batsarada— jyeshtha suddha Sruta-pamchamiya dinam=i Śravakachara-srutiam pratishthitam=aytu ॥ Antu sasirad=elu-nur-embhattu varisam= akkum ॥ 1780 ॥ Mumd=imna Vira=svamiya kalam hattombhattu sasiradimnur-ippattu varisam ॥ 19220 ॥ pravarttisagu ॥..... ...॥ Mattam Vira-Jina muktan=adim balikkam=arunur-aydu varisam= aydu timgal-amdu ॥ 605 ॥ tim 5 Sakarajam puttidam.

MAGHANANDI-ŚRĀVAKĀCHĀRA, Chap. II

Translation

And in the period of this Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna, there flourished the Kevalis named Gautama, Sudharmā, and Jambūnātha; their time was sixty-two years-62. (Then) there were five Śrutakevalis named Nandi, Nandimitra, Aparājita, Govardhana, and Bhadrabāhu : their time was a hundred years,—100. And (then) there were eleven masters of the ten purvas, named Viśākha, Proshṭhila, Kṣhatriya, Jaya, Nāga, Siddhārtha, Dhritishena, Vijaya, Buddhila. Gangādeva. and Sudharmā; their time was a hundred and eighty-three years. And (then) there were five masters of the eleven *aṅ*gas, named Nakshatra, Jayapala, Pāṇḍu, Drumasena, and Kusumbaehārya; their time was two hundred and twenty years,—220. And during the period assigned to this tīrthaṅkara, there flourished also Subhadra, Yaśobhadra, Yaśobhu, and Lohabhu, the four masters of the Āchārāṅga, their time was a hundred and eighteen years,—118. Thus the whole period including the time of Gautma and others, was six hundred and eighty-three years. And on the *Śrutapañchami*, in the bright half of Jyeshṭha, in the Paridhavi samvatsara, being the thousand and ninety-seventh year from the time of the masters of the Āchārāṅga, this work on the conduct of the laity was worshipped. Thus from Vīra there were a thousand seven hundred and eighty years,—1780. The time which the era of Vīrasvāmī (will) yet (continue) is nineteen thousand two hundred and twenty years.— 19220. (Pravarttisagu)

And the Śaka king was born when six hundred and five years and

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five months,—605 years, five months-had passed away since Vira Jina attained mokṣha.

—(We count the numbers 1780+19220=21000 of *Saṁbatsars* upto Paridhāvī Sambatsara as the numbers of months and thereafter enumerate the whole period of Vīra's era 1750 years (21000÷12), when the *Śrāvakāchāra* of Mahānandi was written, i.e. 47 BVE.

—Editor)

□

The Usra Major i.e. Seven Star group—*Saptarshi Maṇḍala* changes a constellation after every 100 years. The total no. of constellation is 27. At the time of Mahābhārata the Usra Major was in Maghā (10th lunar mansion) and now after a full cycle of 27 lunar mansions, and in the third round it has changed 5 lunar mansions and entered in the second half of the 6th lunar mansion—*Ārdrā*, as ellustrated above.

Betelgeuse (*Ārdrā*) move in between the two Usra Major (small & big) from right to left, which can be seen perpendicularly above, the Arcturus (*Swāti*).

—Editor

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Addendum

1. Measurement of time through eclipses

As noticed by late Śaṅkara Bālkṛṣṇa Dīkṣita in his 'भारतीय ज्योतिः शास्त्र' Page 63 (1st edn.), there are references to solar eclipses in five places in the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* which are : (1) IV, 5, 2; (2) IV, 6.13; (3) VI, 6.8; (4) XIV, 11, 14-15 and (5) XXIII, 16,2. In all these references it is stated that *Svarbhānu* struck the sun with darkness.

A reference to a solar eclipse in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 3.2.2) and several others in Mahābhārata and other ancient literature including our old seripture—Ṛg-veda, are mentioned, viz., V, 40, 5-9 V, 33.4; X, 138, 3 and X, 138, 4. etc.

Of the five references in *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* mentioned above, three are the following :—

(a) 'स्वर्भानुर्वा आसुर : आदित्यन्तमसाऽविध्यत्तं देवाः स्वरैरवस्पृण्वत् स्वरसामानो भवन्त्यदित्यस्य स्पृत्यै ।'

(b) 'स्वर्भानुर्वा आसुर : आदित्यन्तमसाऽविध्यत्तस्य देवा दिवाकीर्त्यँ स्तमोऽपाघ्नन् यद्दिवाकीर्त्यानि भवन्ति तम एवास्मादघ्नन्ति रश्मयो वा एत आदित्यस्य यद्दिवा कीर्त्यानि रश्मिभिरेव तदादित्यं साक्षादारभन्ते ।'

(c) 'स्वर्भानुर्वा आसुर : सूर्य्यं तमसाऽविध्यत्तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तिमैच्छंस्त एता अविन्दंस्ताभिरस्मात्तमोऽपाघ्नान् ।'

—(T, Br. IV. 5. 2, IV. 6.13, XXIII. 16.12)

—these passages may be translated as under :

(a) *Svarbhānu* born of Asura, struck the sun with darkness, which was dispelled by gods with *Svaras* (hymns); hence the *Svarasāmans* are for the rescue of the sun.

(b) *Svrarbhānu,* the Asura, struck the sun with darkness. The gods removed this darkness by singing the *Divākīrtya* songs. Whatever are known as *Divākīrtyas* are for the destruction of darkness. These *Divākīrtya* songs are the rays of the sun. By the rays alone the sun is truly begun.

(c) *Svarbhānu,* the Asura, struck the sun with darkness; for this the gods wanted to purify him and they got these *Svarasāmans*; by these they removed the darkness from the sun.

These passages all indicate that the solar eclipse in question happend on the *Viṣuant* day, which means acco rding to the *Taittirīya* Saṁhitā as 'the middle day of the sacrificial year begun from spring'.

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It meant the day on which the Indian rains ended and Indian autumn began. To be more precise, it meant the day on which the sun's tropical longitude became 150°.

According to the Vedic sacrificial calendar, there were the three *Svarasāman* days before the *Viṣuvant*. and three *Svarasāman* days after the *Viṣuvant*. On these seven days, including the *Viṣuvant*, the *Divākīrtya* songs were sung. The *Sāṅkhāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa* (1.3) records : People ask, in what season should men set up the fires again ? One opinion is that it is the rains that are favourable for all people for attaining their desires. Hence for the realization of all the desirable things the fires should be set up again at the middle of the year, by observing the heliacal visibility of the two stars of the *nakṣatra Punarvasu* (Geminorum). But at this time of observation of the heliacal visibility, there may not be the first light half of the month. The new moon which comes after the full moon at the *Āṣāḍha*, happens near the two stars of *Punarvasu* :

'तदाहु : कस्मिन्नृतौ पुनरादधीतेति । वर्षास्विति हैक आहुर्वर्षासु वै सर्व्वे कामाः सर्वेषामेव कामानामाप्तैव मध्यावर्षे पुनर्वसूनक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य पुनराधीत·····तद्धैन तस्मिन् काले पूर्वपक्षे पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते । ये वैषाऽऽषाढ्या उपरिष्टादमावास्या भवति सा पुनर्वसुभ्यां संपद्यते । उपाप्तोऽमावस्यायां कामो भवत्युपाप्तो वर्षासूपाप्तः पुनर्वस्वोस्तस्मात्तस्यां पुनरादधीत ।'

The first part of the above passage implies that the middle of the year i. e., the summar solstice day was marked by the heliacal visibility of the *Punarvasu*. The concluding portion is a makeshift arrangement, by which even the light half of the month is not obtained for setting up the fires again. The Brāhmaṇa (XIX.2) elaborating the point again mentions.

'तैषस्यामावस्याया एकाह उपरिष्टाद्दीक्षेरण्माघस्यवेत्याहुस्तदुभयं व्युदितं तैषस्यत्वेवो दिततरमिव त एतं त्रयोदशमधिचरं मासमाप्नुवन्ते तावान् वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदश मासस्तद यैव सर्वः संवत्सर आप्तो भवति ॥'

That they should consecrate themselves on the day after the new moon of *Taiṣa* or of *Maghā*, they say : both of these views are current, but that as to *Taiṣa* is the more current as it were. They obtain this 13th additional month : the year is as great as this thirteenth month; in it verily the whole year is obtained. We thus infer that the solar eclipse, recorded in the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, happened on the *Viṣuvant* day, on which the sun's tropical longitude was about 150° degrees and it was total eclipse which is very rare phenomena.

2. The sun returns to the same node after each eclipse year; new moons or full moons recur at intervals of an ordinary month,

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Nineteen eclips year or 6585.7806 days are nearly equal to 223 months or 6585.3211 days. After this interval of 18 years 11 days, which is called the *saros*, the moon and the sun come nearly to the same relative positions again and eclipses will repeat themselves.

Since the coincidence of the two periods is not exact, the repetition of an eclipse after a *saros* will be of different circumstances. Suppose an eclipse of the sun takes place which is visible on the earth in high northern latitudes, it will repeat after 223 months, but period will be shorter by 0.4595 days than 19 eclipse years, and the moon will now overtake the sun, while it is 28° farthar to the right, nearer to the node. The sun will be closer to the centre of the moon circle, and on the earth the eclipse will be visible nearer to the equator or farther south than the previous eclipse. After every saros the meeting of the moon and the sun will be a little farther to the right. Solar eclipses may thus be ordered into series, each of which contains 68 to 75 eclipses, about 18 total at intervals of a *saros* extending over 13 to 14 centuries,

The fraction of 0.3211 days in the period of the *saros* has the effect of making each successive eclipse of a series visible about 110° of longitude farther west on the earth and after three saroses it returns nearly to the same longitude, but farther south if at the ascending node or farther north if at the descending node.

Furthermore, there are changes, distinct from the periodic, in celestial motions. This is mainly due to tidal friction, which has two consequences : (1) the earth's rotation is slowed down by the pull of the moon on the oceans at a rate that had overaged some 2'' century after century since ancient times; (2) the orbital angular momentum of the moon is increased, pushing the moon farther away from the earth. The first effect would by itself lead to an apparent acceleration in the moon's motion of about 26'' per century ; the accelaration actually observed is only 5.2'' per century because the second effeet counteracts the first.

3. *Recorded Eclipses*

In the *Shuking* (chinese Book of Historical Documents) it is stated that Hsi and Ho, the hereditary astronomers, had neglected the duties of their office. The king, Chengk'ang placed the Marquis of yin in command of an army with instructions to punish them. The Marquis issued an order to his troops in which he referred to Hsí and Ho having neither heard nor known anything on a recent occasion when the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in *Fang*. It is a reference to a solar eclipse and the famous *Bamboo Book*, where

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chronology is probably nearer to the truth place that event in 1952 B. C , after that 12th ordinary eclipse may have occurred as recorded in the Samyukta Nikāya (1.2.1.9-10) :

९. चन्दिम सुत्तं

१३. 'सावत्थि निदानं । तेन खो पन समयेन चन्दिमा देवपुत्तो राहुना असुरिन्देन गहितो होति । अथ खो चन्दिमा देवपुत्तो भगवन्तं अनुस्सरमानो तायं वेलायं इमं गाथं अभासि—

नमो ते बुद्धवीरत्थु, विप्पमुत्तोसि सब्बधि ।
सम्बाध पटिपन्नोस्मि, तस्स मे सरणं भवा'ति ॥

अथ खो भगवा चन्दिमं देवपुत्तं आरब्भ राहुं असुरिन्दं गाथा ये अज्झभासि—

तथागतं अरहन्तं, चन्दिमा सरणं गतो ।
राहुचन्दं पमुञ्चस्सु, बुद्धा लोकानुकम्पकाति ॥'

१४. 'अथ खो राहु असुरिन्दो चन्दिमं देवपुत्तं मुञ्चित्वा तरमानरूपो येन वेपचित्ति असुरिन्दो तेनपसङ्कमि; उपसङ्कमित्वा संविग्गो लोम हट्ठजातो एकमन्तं अट्ठासि । एक मन्तं खो राहुं असुरिन्दं वेपचित्ति असुरिन्दो गाथाय अज्झभासि—

किं नु सन्तरमानोव, राहुचंदं पमुञ्चसि ।
संविग्गरूपो आगम्म, किं तु भीतो व तिट्ठसीति ॥
सत्तधा मे फलेमुद्धा, जीवन्तो न सुखं लभे ।
बुद्धगाथाभि गीतोम्हि, नीचेमुञ्चेय्य चन्दिमं' ति ॥

१०. सुरिय सुत्तं

१५. 'सावत्थि निदानं । तेन खो पन समयेन सुरियो देवपुत्तो राहुना असुरिन्देन गहितो होति । अथ खो सुरियो देवपुत्तो भगवन्तं अनुस्सरमानो तायं वेलायं इमं गाथं अभासि—

नमो ते बुद्धवीरत्थु, विप्पमुत्तोसि सब्बधि ।
सम्बाधि पटिपन्नोस्मि, तस्स मे सरणं भवा'ति ॥

अथ खो भगवा सुरियं देवपुत्तं आरब्भ राहुं असुरिन्दं गाथाहि अज्झभासि—

तथागतं अरहन्तं, सुरियो सरणं गतो ।
राहु सुरियं पमुञ्चस्सु, बुद्धा लोकानुकम्पका ॥
यो अन्धकारे तमसि पभङ्करो
वे रोचनो मण्डली उग्गतेजो ।
माराहु गिली चरमन्तलिक्खे
पजं ममं राहु पमुञ्च सुरियं 'ति ॥'

१६. 'अथ खो राहु असुरिन्दो सुरियं देवपुत्तं मुञ्चित्वा तरमानरूपो येन वेपचित्ति असुरिन्दो तेन पसङ्कमि; उपसङ्कमित्वा संविग्गो लोमहट्ठजातो एकमन्तं

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अट्ठासि। एकमन्तं ठितं खो राहुं असुरिन्दं वेयचित्ति असुरिन्दो गाथाय अज्झभासि—

किंतु सन्तरमानोव, राहु सुरियं पमुञ्चसि।
सं विग्गरूपो आगम्म, किन्नु भीतो व तिट्ठसी 'ति॥
सत्तधा मे फले मुद्धा, जीवन्तो न सुखं लभे।
बुद्धगाथाभि गीतोम्हि, नो चे मुञ्चेय्य सुरियं 'ति॥"

Here, the eclipse of the moon was closely followed by an eclipse of the sun, and apparently at a very short interval, as the phrase' 'तेन खो पन समयेन' indicates, i. e , the two events happened in the short period of time of the Buddha's stay at *Srāvastī*.

4. To settle chronology by a reference to a solar eclipse is a very difficult matter. Because eclipses having similar characteristics take place in a cycle and the periods of 223 lunar months and that of 19 eclipse years are also equal. This means that at the end of each *saros* the sun, the moon and the nodes of the moon's orbit will be in almost identical positions, and that the sequance of eclipses will be repeated with only very small differences. However the positions are not identical between two successive total solar eclipses and an amular eclipse or a solar eclipse caused by the regular crossing of the ecliptic.

When the earth is at perihetion, the apparent diameter of the sun is 32'35"; at aphelion, the value is 31'31". The apparent diameter of the moon ranges between 33'3" and 29'22". The moon can, therefore, hide the sun completely when it is near porigee, but it is moving steadily in its orbit, and totality can never last for more than 7½ minutes or so, while at most eclipses totality is much shorter. Moreover, the track of totality or earth can never be more than 169 miles wide, so that as seen from any one place a total eclipse is a rare event.

Earth's axis tilted by 23½° to the perpendicular, the angle between the ecliptic and the calestial equartor is also 23½°. The ecliptic is the projection of the earth's orbit on to the celestial sphere, and may also be defined as the apparent yearly path of the sun among the stars. It passes through 12 zodiacal constellations, together with a small part of a 13th ophiuchus.

The moon's orbit is also tilted about 5° to the earth's orbit around the sun. For this reason the moon's shadow generally misses the earth and so a solar eclipse does not occur. Likewise, the moon most often escapes being eclipsed by passing above or below the shadow of the earth.

About 21 March each year the sun crosses the celestial equator, moving from the southern to the northern hemisphere of the sky,

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this is termed the vernal equinox or first point of Aries (मष), six months later, about 23 September, the sun again crosses the equator, moving from north to south, this is the autumnal equinox or first point of Libra (तुला).

The vernal equinox is used as the zero point for right ascension. It used to be in Aries, but precession has now shifted it out into the adjoining constellation of pisces, the Fishes (मीन). Now if we study its precession and ascension periods, it will reveal history.

The eclipses tha nave been definitely identified are for the moon that of 1361 B. C. and for the sun that of 1217 B. C., both derived from inscriptions on ancient oracle bones If we credit the period of two successive total solar eclipses of 360 year's duration to 1217 B. C., it will be 1937 B. C., that equalize to the *Bamboo books'* recorded timing of the King, Chung K'ang, who might have noticed a solar eclipse of ordinary nature of 1955 B. C. or near about.

In the same way, the *Assyrian epanym* canon records under the year which corresponds to 763-762 B. C., "In surrection in the city of *Assur*. In the month of *sivan* the sun was eclipsed". The reference must be to the eclipse of the sun on June 15, 763 B. C. A reference to the same eclipse has been found in the Bidle : "And on the days', says the Lord God, 'I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in broad day light (Amos VIII, 98). This eclipse of 763 B. C., recorded in the *eponym* canon makes it possible to carry the chronology back with certainty through the period covered by that canon to 893 B. C. and if accredited of the two total and fourteen more ordinary eclipses, it will correspond to the solar eclipse of *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, mentioned above. However, moon eclipse might not have been visible there.

—*Parmeshwer Solanki*

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2. Chronological gap of twelve hundred years

According to Jaina faith, Pārśvanāth lived for a hundred years and his death occurred 250 years before Mahāvīra's. The parents of Mahāvīra were the followers of the religion propagated by Pārśva. He was born in *Vārāṇsī* as the son of king *Aśvasena* of *Ikśvāku* dynasty. He is acknowledged as a great man, the ideal for the people, the enlightened one, the omniscient one, the religion-incarnate and the victor (*uttarādhyayana* 23.1).

Many references to the pupils of Pārśvanātha are found in ancient Jaina scriptures. A reference to discussion between Mahāvīra and Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśvanāth occurs in *Vyākhyā Prajñpti* 9.32. There is another reference to Pārśvā's Pupil Pedhalputta who after listening to the sermons of Indraphūti adopted Mahāvīra's five-point message. The discussion between pāiśva's follower Kesīkumara and Māhāvīra's *gaṇadhara* Indrabhūti in *Uttarādhyayana* is significant. Another discussion between the pupil of Pārśvanātha, named Kalasavesiyaputta and one of Mahāvīra is also corroborated by the *Bhagvatī Sutra* and the theme was the penance of adopting five precepts instead of four (1.76).

The Pārś va-Tradition was popular among the masses. The founder of the Baudha religion, Gautam Buddha had also been under its influence. The fourfold religion emanating from Pārśvanāth does not confirm that in his precepts he gave no room for celibacy. Moreover, the principle of celibacy is implied automatically in non-possession.

Out of the sixteen royal dynasties existing then in India two, i. e. *Kasī* and *Pañchāla*, which were highly influential, had matrimonial relations with the dynasties of the leaders of Jaina religion. Pārśvanāth was himself a member of the royal family of *Kāsī*. He was son-in-law of the king of *Pañchāla*.

However, it will be illogical to declare that the followers of Pārśvanātha were spread throughout the sub-continent but from the evidence of *Sutrakritaṇga* and other Jaina scriptures, they lived in the catchment area of Magada during the time of Mahāvīra and there is a chronological gap between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Historically there is no patriarch or successor known to us, before and after Pārs' vanātha.

Similarly there are gaps in chronology of the successors to Mahāvīra and offshoots to his precepts of the religion. During the time-leg of 250 years between Pārs'va and Mahāvīra, numerous sects and schisms arose. *Sutrakritāṇga* (V.119) mentions as many as 363

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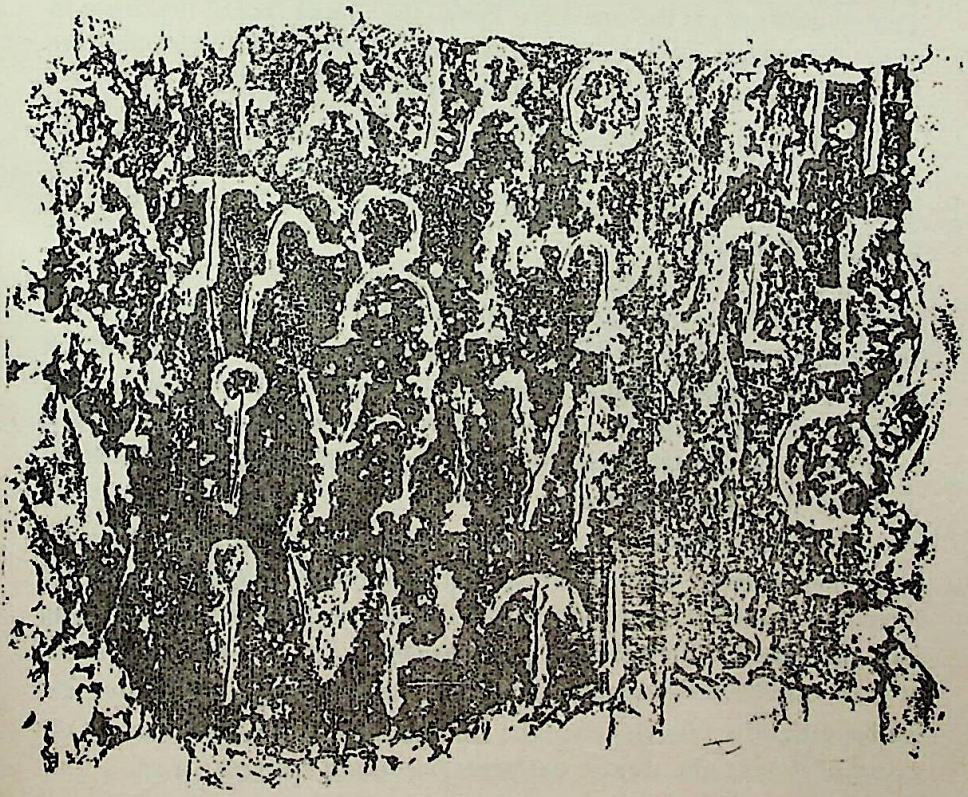
such-schisms of the four main sects extant at the time. Mr. A. C. Sen has detailed these sectarian differences in monastic life of the period (Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature, Calcutta, 1932).

There were a few followers of Mahāvīra who received initiation from him and they too became self-centred and established new sects. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti, Aupapātika* and Commentaries on *Uttarādhyayana* reveal seven divisions, two of them led by Jamāli and Tishyagutta, parted during the life-time of Mahāvīra himself and and five others within a lapse of 584 years since the death of Mahāvira.

The famous *Barli*-inseription refers to Goṣṭha māhila, who believed that the Karman simply touched the soul but did not bind it (*Āvaśyakabhāsya vritti*, Vs 141-144). We read and decipher the Barli-inscription us under :

वी राय भगव (ते)—
५००+चतु रासीति व (से)—
कायेसालि माहिले—
(प्र) तिष्ठा मझिमके



That Goṣthamāhila was present in Madhyamikā 584 years after Bhagawān Mahāvīra.

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The Kalpasutra list of the patriarchs from Suhastin onwards is as follows. Suhastin, Susthita, Supratibuddha, Indra, Dinna, Sinhagiri and Vajra. The last, i. e. Vajra went to Bhadragupta of Pātalīputra and returned back to Dashapura after learning the knowledge of Pūrvās. He joined his guru Sinhagiri and succeeded him.

Now there was a person called Āryarakṣita, who lived in *Dashpura*. He went to the local Jain Āchārya to learn the *Dristtivāda*. The āchārya asked him to become a monk first. Āryarakṣita was willing but he was afraid that king and people would importune him, so he induced the monks to remove their residence and after doing so he intered in the order.

After acquiring all knowledge that the Āchārya possessed, Āryarakṣita went to join Vajra and in short time he had mastered nine Pūrvās. It was when he learned the *yamaks* of lhe 10th Pūrva, that the course of his studies was interupted and he was forced to return home. (This was a simple case that Jainas were guilty of seducing disciples of the other sects.) It appears from the account given by Hemachandra that this man occupied the top place in the church and he was the one who knew the Jaina sacred literature in full. There was upto that time no written record of this literature and every thing had to be committed to memory.

Goṣṭhamāhila of *Dashpura* took his initiation from this Āryarakṣita and afterwards as a successor to him he led the seventh schism. His followers were called *Abaddhiyas* who asserted that Jiva was not bound by karman.

In this way the eighth schism was inevitable, as there was no patriarch of the cadre of Āryarakṣita or his disciple Goṣṭhamāhila. And just 40 years before him Rohagupta saparated from the church on the *Jiva, ajiva* and *Nojiva* principle. It was therefore question of time only. Accordingly the Jaina order was divided into two sects, later known as *Śvetāmbers* and Digambers, 609 years after the death of Mahāvīra (*Āvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, G. 145).

However as the anceint canonical literature shows in the early stage there was no hard and fast distinction between the precepts of these two Jaina sects nor any clear demarcation between them along sectarian lines. For example, the *Sthanāṅga* (II, 171) pern its the use of garments under certain conditions; the *Ācārāṅga* (II, 5) provides for begging of garments and the *Uttarādhayayan* (II. 12) refers to the worry of monks about their garments becoming old and torn.

With the passage of time and changed conditions, attitudes and approaches began to stiffen, doctrines to ossify and sectarian outlook

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to dominate. The frequency of councils to determine various recensions of the canon during this period in an index of the forment in the realm of ideas leading to this development.

Now if we turn to the *Deccan* and leave aside *pātalīputra, Mathurā, Dishpura* (*Ujjain*) and *Vallabhī* schools, we find that the Digambaras of south India had started developing their own sacred literature. They had to do this because according to them the last of the ācāryas who knew even a part of the Aṅgas had died 683 years after the death of Mahāvīra. The name of the last ācārya, in their opinion was Bhūtavali. And next pontiffs to him were Bhadrabāhu and his pupil Kundkunda, who started writing sacred books for the Digambaras.

The Bhadrabāhu, referred to above, is different from the Bhadragupta who taught Sthūlbhadra. We infer that this patriarch is 27th of the list instead of the 7th and to him follow Bhadrabāhu, Guptigupta, Maghanandi, Jinachandra and Kundkunda. Accordingly there were two, 12-year famines and both were predicted by seers named Bhadrabāhu or Bhadragupta, having interval of avout twelve hundred years in their periods of existence.

The Jains themselves, both *Śvetambars* and Digambaras, have their own versions as to how the schism between them occurred. The *Śvetambara* version is given in *Āvaśyaka Bhāsya* and Digambara version in Herisen's *Brihat Kathākoṣa*. The story of Sivabhūti and his *Ratna Kaṁbala*, recorded in Svetambara version and the story of *ardhaphalakas* and the queen Chandra lekhā narrated in Digambara version were not identical.

Can we not infer from this that nobody knew the origin of either of the two divisions ? Some thing must be said and so after wards they have put down anything that came into their heads. Really speaking one can not arrive at any definite conclusion from all these mutually conflicting traditions without admitting the gap of periods mentioned above.

Furthermore, there is a reference to *Śvetapaṭas* in a grant, issued by Kadamba King Mrigesh Varma (Jaina Silalekh Samgrah, Vol. II. pp. 69-72) that the granted village was divided into three shares, the first to the holy *Arhat*, the second to the eminent ascetics called *Śvetapaṭṭas* and the third for the eminent ascetics called *Nirgranths*.

It is worthwhile to mention here, the epigraph, at *Śravaṇabelgolā* also wherein Bhadrabāhu had predicted the famine in Ujjayani and not in Magadha. This citation is incorporated by the mention of two separate 12-year famines in Ujjayani and Pāṭalīputra recorded in *Pañchtantra* of pt. Vishṇu Sharma.

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Another discrepancy seems to exist in location. The main concentration of the Śvetambaras is round about and within 500 Kilometres of Vallabhi. Most of the Jains in Gujrat and Western Rajasthan are Śvetambaras, while most of the Jains of eastern Rajasthan, U. P. and the Jains of South India are Digambaras.

To make matters more clear we might say that the Chief points on which the two parties particularly do not agree are the insistence of the exchange of embryo of Mahāvīra, the beliefs that woman is not entitled to Maksha and that Kevalins do not take food and finally the complete disappearance of the ancient sacred literature of the Jainas.

The very names of the two divisions connote what is meant by them. The Digambaras maintained that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of saintship; the other division also admits that Mahāvīra went about naked, but holds that the use of clothes does not impede the highest sanctity.

Anyhow if we agree with the gap of time that changed the conditions, attitudes and approaches of the followers of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra that Śvetambaras are more akin to the former while Digambaras are nearer to Mahāvīra though historically this might had been the vice-versa.

—Parmeshwer Solanki

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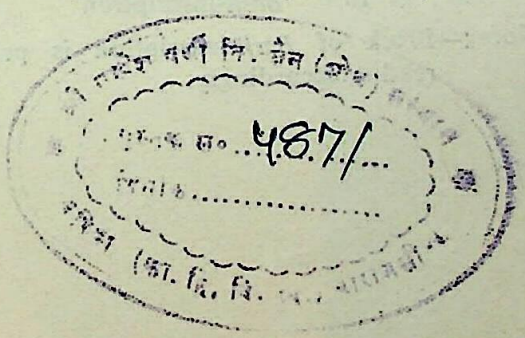

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CORRIGENDA

Location	Wrong Printing	Please read
Page iv, Line 11	'the last'	'the 24th'
" v " 27	'in 1243th year. Before Vikram Era'	'in 1243 year, Before Vikrim Era'
" vi " 16	'the gap of 800 years'	'the gap of 5800 years'
" 17 " 33	That happend 477 years after Palak'	'The Nandas came to power 453 years after Palak'
" 21 " 32	'three decades'	'four decades'
" 27 " 33	'B.C.'	'A.C.'
" 28 " 27	'Odorus'	'Diodorus'
" 36 " 31	'The bypothesis'	'The hypothesis'
" 40 " 01	'regnal reckoning'	'reignal reckoning'
" 43 " 11	'the Ṣaka era'	'the Śaka era'
" 43 " 14	'the Saka era'	'the Śaka era'
" 55 " 10	'*Barli*-inseription'	'*Barli*-inscription'

Note :—Block of *Barli*-inscription is printed upside down. Please read it accordingly.

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